Christology
in
The Epistle to the Hebrews

A Dissertation presented to the
Faculty of the Graduate School of
Yale University in Candidacy for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

1955

Hideyasu Nakagawa

THE SUMMARY

The problem of this dissertation is to investigate the description of the Christ-event presented in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The method to be employed will be exegetical and historical, including semantics of key words and a theological explication of the passages concerned.

The pre-existent Son of God, who is the effulgence of the glory of God and the exact impression of his essence, humiliated himself to become a man. This man, Jesus, suffered and died, and, being exalted above angels, sat down at the right hand of God. Through these acts of humiliation and exaltation Christ opened the way for his people to eternal rest, being himself perfected. In this way he now leads his people toward the heavenly goal. Thus at once he is himself perfected and the perfecter of his people.

In this presentation of the "way" of Christ, the author of Hebrews follows the Gnostic myth of "the saved saviour". Differing from Gnosis, however, the author uses the Gnostic pattern in order to expound the implied significance of the historical event of Christ ("Vergeschichtlichung" or demythologizing of myth).

In order to develop the soteriological significance of the Christ-event the author uses the conceptions of the high-priest and mediator of a new covenant (7,1-10,18). At his death on the cross, Christ was appointed at the same time the Son of God and high-priest after the order of Melchizedek (5,1-10). His death is his self-sacrifice for the purification of our sins. Through this offering made once for all Christ mediated a new covenant for the free remission of sins. And, acting himself as the eternal high-priest before God, he guarantees the promise.

Jesus' death on the cross is an event of the past. But, according to the author, this past event is still determining the present. The fact is expressed by the conception of the eternal-ever-present activity of the exalted Christ. He is the king-priest before and at the right hand of God, both interceding for us and guaranteeing the full realization of the new covenant, if we with faith and patience endure until the end. He is indeed "the source of eternal salvation to all who obey him"(5,9). We, his people are, therefore, under his leadership, intercession, guarantee and Lordship. The setting of the whole presentation is cultic.

The leading motive of the Epistle is the Old Testament idea of "the wandering people of God", enriched and modified by Hellenistic-Jewish (Philo) and Gnostic tradition of the "way".

CONTENTS

CHAP.

1. Introduction 1

I. The Problem and Method of this Dissertation

II. A Survey of the Recent Research

III. The Plan of the Epistle

2. The Exegetical Method used by the Author in the Epistle 23

I. Quotations

II. The Mode of Citation

III. The Method of Exegesis employed in the Epistle

3. The Son of God I 38

Exegesis of 1,1-2,4

4. The Son of God II 86

The Son in his Humiliation : 2,5-18

5. Christ as High-Priest I 143

Preparatory Description of Christ's High-Priesthood: 2,17-18; 3,1-2a; 4,14-16; 5,1-10

6. Christ as High-Priest II 186

Christ as High-Priest after the Order of Melchizedek: 7,1-28

CHAP.

7. Christ as Mediator of the New Covenant 218

Soteriological Consequence of the Christ-Event for Mankind : 8,1-10,18

Conclusion 250

I. The Summary

II. The Characteristics of the Christology and Soteriology of the Epistle

III. The Eschatological Background of the Soteriology

Bibliography 269

Abbreviations 272

Chapter 1

Introduction

I

The Problem and Method of this Dissertation

The problem of this dissertation is to investigate the description of the Christ-event presented by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. To this end we are especially concerned in the question of how he sets forth a new conception of soteriology and from where he takes the traditional patterns he uses. Whence has the author taken over patterns and conceptions in order to expound the soteriological significance of the Christ-event? Where are the religious-historical roots of these patterns and conceptions? Are they Jewish, Hellenistic, or Gnostic(1)?

Three main conceptions are used in the Christology of the Epistle: The Son of God, the high-priest and the mediator (μεσίτης) of the new covenant. Christ as the pre-existent Son of God is the effulgence of the glory of God and the stamp of His essence (ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ ,1,3), and has suffered and died in obedience to his Father. Through this he has made purification for sins (1,3) and was made perfect by his Father, having been appointed the high-priest (5,7-10). Christ is the leader (ἀρχηγός ,2,10) and the forerunner (πρόδρομος,6,20) on this way of salvation. He himself

---

(1) The definition of the term "Gnosis" to be used hereafter follows below.

has opened this way and leads his people toward the eternal rest (κατάπαυσις ,4,1.3.10) in front of the divine Presence (1,1-5,10). In the main part of the Epistle (7,1-10,18), this work of Christ is described in terms of the ministry of the heavenly high-priest, who offered himself once for all, and thereby mediated the new covenant of the free remittance of sins (8,8-12;10,16-18) between God and man, guaranteeing its fulfillment. Thus the author tries to expound the soteriological significance of the Christ-event. Now, the question is, from where did the author take over the pattern of this "way" of Christ and such conceptions as the Son of God, leader, forerunner, high-priest and mediator, etc? Where are the religious-historical roots of these patterns and conceptions?

The pattern of the "way" of Christ as the pre-existent, historical and post-existent Son of God seems to have a great similarity with that of the "way" of the son of the high King of Lifht in the Gnostic myth, as Ernst Kaesemann has shown (1). Such conceptions as "leader" and "forerunner" may possibly be of Gnostic origin. The idea of the Son of God as "the effulgence of the glory of God and the stamp of His essence" seems to have its background in Hellenistic-Jewish and Gnostic Logos-εἰκών speculations. Kaesemann even tries to explain the use of the conception of high-priest in the Epistle from the Gnostic background (2). As to the conception of the mediator, E. R. Goodenough has found in Philo that Moses is presented as a great Mystagogue, who leads his people to the inner secret of salvation

---

(1) E. Kaesemann, Das wandernde Gottesvolk, 1939.
(2) Ibid., pp. 124-140.

by way of the Mystery (1). For Philo Moses is this great Mystagogue, i.e. the divine Mediator between God and His people. This conception of mediator plays also an important part in Gnosis. Although this observation of ours is of a hypothetical character at the present stage, it gives us an orientation for this study and consequently determines the method we are to follow.

The method to be employed in the following study shall be exegetical. We shall try to interpret and examine what the author presents about the work of Christ by means of exegesis of the passages concerned. Thereby we shall take up a whole section, or in some cases a full verse, wherein the author presents Christology. This is to avoid running the risk of gathering and organizing by ourselves the verses taken out of the context into a presupposed system. An original implication of the conceptions of an author can only become visible, when we take an exegesis of the whole section concerned as a basis for our investigation (2). Further, in the course of this exegesis we shall take up important words and investigate the Biblical and non-Biblical use of them. This lexicographical-semantic survey of words shall enable us to locate the usage of the words in this Epistle in their historical development, and also to determine in what context they are used by the author. As we hope, by this procedure the religious-historical roots of these words and patterns of thoughts shall become visible. Finally, theological explication

---

(1) E.R.Goodenough, By Light, Light, 1935.
(2) With regard to this methodical principle, we follow Prof. Erich Dinkler. Cf.E.Dinkler, Rechtsnahme und Rechtsverzicht bei Paulus, Zur Exegese von 1 Kor 6,1-11, in Festschrift fuer Prof. Ken Ishiwara zu seinem 70. Geburtstag, Tokyo, 1952, p. 259.

shall complete our exegesis of the passages concerned.

Consequently, in the course of the following study we have to refer consistently to the sources of the background of this Epistle: Hellenistic-Judaism and pre-Christian Gnosis. In his study on Philo, E.R.Goodenough presented Philo as a representative of Hellenistic Judaism, who systematically presented Judaism in the Hellenistic environment. What Goodenough has found in Philo is "Jewish Mystery", Moses being the Great Mystagogue and the Divine Mediator. Following Goodenough, R.S.Eccles has shown the Hellenistic elements in the Epistle to the Hebrews (1). According to Eccles, the author of Hebrews presents Christ as Mystagogue and Christianity as Mystery. E.Kaesemann, on the other hand, approached the Epistle from another angle. With R.Reitzenstein, R.Bultmann and others, he takes pre-Christian Gnosis seriously and studied Hebrews from this background (2). Though there has been much debate about the problem of pre-Christian Gnosis, we shall also take Gnosis in a wider sense of the term, which covers Hellenistic mysticism, religious thoughts preserved in the apocalyptic-eschatological writings of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha (3), Hermetic writings, and perhaps Hellenistic Judaism (4), etc. (5). As to the Mandaean literatures, to which we shall refer often, the date of their composition is certainly

---

(1) R.S.Eccles, Hellenistic Mysticism in the Epistle to the Hebrews, Dissertation, Yale, 1952.
(2) E.Kaesemann, Das wandernde Gottesvolk, 1939.
(3) The Testament of the Twelve Patriarches; The Sybiline Oracles; The Fourth Ezra.
(4) With this term we mean Hellenistic Judaism represented by Philo. But in the following we shall treat it separately from Gnosis.
(5) The Odes of Solomon; Pistis Sophia; The Hymn of the Soul, contained in the Acts of Thomas (§§ 108-113, ed. by M.R.James).

late, but with R. Reitzenstein, R. Bultamnn and others we assume that the myth of primeval Man (Urmensch) contained therein could be traced back to pre-Christian Gnosis (1).

Though the concrete-historical forms of Gnosis are diverse, they present a pretty uniform structure: "a dualistic salvation-piety" (dualistische Erloesungsfroemmigkeit) (2). Cosmological dualism, a mediator and messenger sent by God, and redemption through γνῶσις seem to be the constituent elements common to them all. In the following we shall sketch a common scheme of the Gnostic myth of primeval Man.

The soul (i.e. man's self) is a part, splinter or spark of the heavenly primeval Man, whose body is made out of light. In the primeval time he fell into the hands of demonic powers of the darkness. He was torn asunder and divided by them. These elements of light serve to demons like as a binding magnetic power. Demons are in need of them in order to shape a world out of the chaos of the darkness. The world thus made is an imitation of the world of light above. If these elements of light were taken away from demons, their artificial world would fall back into the original chaos. Therefore, they keep a sharp watch over their captives. Naturally

---

(1) Das Johannesbuch der Mandaeer, 1915; Mandaeische Liturgien, 1920; Ginza, der Schatz, oder das grosse Buch der Mandaeer, 1925, transl. by M. Lidzbarski.

Cf. W.Bousset, Hauptprobleme der Gnosis, 1906; R.Reitzenstein,Der mandaeische Buch des Herrn des Grossen, in Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1919; Das iranische Erloesungsmysterium, 1921; Zur Mandaeerfrage, ZNW,XXVI (1927), pp. 39-70; M. Lidzbarski, Mandaeische Fragen, ZNW,XXVI (1927),pp.70-75; R. Bultmann, Die Bedeutung der neuerschlossenen mandaeischen und manichaeischen Quellen fuer das Verstaendnis des Johannesevangeliums, ZNW,XXIV (1925), pp.100-146; H.Jonas, Gnosis und spaetantiker Geist, I,1934; H. Schlier, in Theologische Rundschau, N.F.(1933), pp.1-34; 69-92; W.Baumgaertner, in Theologische Zeitschrift, 1950.

Cf. also S.A.Palis, Mandaean Studies, Engl. transl., 1919; A. Loisy, Le Mandéism et les Origines Chrétiennes, 1934; R.P.Casey, The Study of Gnosticism, JThSt XXXVI(1935), pp. 45-60; C.H. Dodd, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel, 1953, pp. 97-130.

E.Kaesemann, Das wandernde Gottesvolk, pp. 135f.

(2) R.Bultmann, Das Urchristentum im Rahmen der antiken Religionen, 1949, p. 181.

enough, their attention concentrates upon those light-sparks which are shut up in man as his inner self. Demons strive to stun them and to make them fall asleep. However, while some of them fall asleep, others are awake and conscious of their being in this prison. They yearn after the emancipation. Having mercy upon the captive light-sparks, the high God sends down his son of light to save them. The son descends to them in disguise putting on himself clothes of the earthly body, that demons may not recognize him. The son calls the light-sparks (sc. the selves of men) to themselves. He reminds them of their homeland and gives instructions about the way back. He also informs them the sacred formulas which they must know in order to pass safely by the various planetary spheres. That is, the watch stations of the demonic cosmis powers on their way back. Thereby he reveals himself as the one who is sent by God, speaking "I am the shepherd", "I am the truth", etc. Having completed his work, the son ascends again to his father. Thus he opens the way, on which his sparks will follow after him, when at death they were emancipated from the prison of the body. The work of the son is to collect the scattered light-sparks. It is initiated by him and will be completed, when all light-sparks are emancipated and ascend and thus are combined to one body of light, which was fallen into the hands of demons and torn asunder by them in primeval time. Then this world would come to its end and fall back into the original chaos. The darkness would remain alone by itself. This is its judgement (1).

---

(1) I owe this sketch to R.Bultmann's presentation, Das Urchristentum, pp. 182f.

II

A Survey of the Recent Research

Sometime until the beginning of the last century, one traditional view of the Epistle to the Hebrews prevailed. According to it, Hebrews was written to a group of Jewish Christians in the Roman church, who were relapsing from their Christian confession into Judaism, and the writer of the Epistle warns them against this peril (1). Thus this theory understood Hebrews "to reflect a phase or crisis in the evolution of Jewish Christianity in the apostolic age" (2).

The picture changed, however, when M.E.Roeth presented a new theory in 1836. In his work entitled "Epistola vulgo ad Hebraeos inscriptam non ad Hebraeos id est christianos genere Judaeos, sed ad christianos genere gentiles et quidem ad Ephesios datam esse demonstrare conatur" Roeth tried to show that the Epistle commonly styled "To the Hebrews" was addressed not to Hebrews, i.e. to the Christians of Jewish descent, but to Christians of Gentile extraction. The Epistle was detached in this way from its place in the Jewish-Christian lineage and set in the frame of general life of the contemporary church. According to this view, the danger of the group was not that of relapsing into Judaism, but that of falling away from

---

(1) Cf. D.Schulz, Der Brief an die Hebraeer, 1818; A.Riehm, Der Lehrbegriff des Hebraeerbriefes, 1867, etc. Among the contemporaries K.Bornhaeuser (Empfaenger und Verfasser des Hebraeerbriefes, 1932) represents the view that the Epistle was addressed to the priests in Jerusalem (Cf. Clemens' view in Eus Hist Eccl VI, 14,2).
(2) W. Manson, The Epistle to the Hebrews, 1951, v.

the Christian confession to unbelief or disappointment with religion in general, or of succumbing to Hellenistic mysticism, etc. The purpose of the Epistle was, therefore, "to assert the finality and the grandeur of Christian religion, to emphasize its incomparable greatness with respect to other faiths, to insist on its absoluteness as a redemption mystery." (1). This view of Roeth's was further developed by Hans von Soden, C.Weizsaecker, Ad. von Harnack, A. Juelicher, A.C.McGiffert and others (2)

In the early years of this century E.F.Scott and James Moffatt popularized this theory by their works on the Epistle (3). M.Goguel, J.T.Hudson and E.Kaesemann agree with them in criticising the older view on this point (4).

The situation seems to be changed or rather confused a third time, when W.Manson proposed a new approach in his work on the Epistle published in 1951 (5). Criticizing both the older and the modern theory, Manson sought in this book "a fresh integration of Hebrews into the historical development of Early Christian thought and life." (6). According to him, "the key to the Epistle is only to be found

---

(1) W.Manson, op. cit., p. 16.
(2) Hans von Soden, Der Brief an die Hebraeer, 1 ed., 1880; C.Weizsaecker Das apostolische Zeialter, 1 ed., 1886; Ad. von Harnack, Probabilia ueber die Adresse und den Verfasser des Hebraeerbriefes, ZNW, 1900; A.Juelicher, Einleitung in das Neuen Testament, 7 ed., 1931; A.C.McGiffert, A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age, 1897.
(3) E.F.Scott, The Epistle to the Hebrews, 1922; James Moffatt, The Epistle to the Hebrews, ICC, 1924; Cf. A.Loisy, Les Livres du Nouveau Testament, 1922.
(4) M.Goguel, Le Nouveau Testament, 1929; J.T.Hudson, The Epistle to the Hebrews, 1937; E.Kaesemann, Das wandernde Gottesvolk, 1939.
(5) W.Manson, The Epistle to the Hebrews, 1951.
(6) Ibid., p. 23.

by examining the history of the world mission of Christianity from its inception in the work of Stephen" (1). The Epistle was addressed to a group of Jewish Christians in the Roman church, which was established by the world mission (2).

In his work on Hebrews (3), C.Spicq presented a view that the Epistle was written by Apollos (Acts 18,24-28) and addressed to the Jewish priests who were converted by Stephen and took refuge in Caesarea or Antioch (4).

In view of all this we shall briefly survey below recent research since E.F.Scott and James Moffatt.

1. E.F.Scott, The Epistle to the Hebrews, 1922.

According to Scott, "The Epistle to the Hebrews is in many respects the riddle of the New Testament. Nothing is known of its origin .... Among early Christian writings it stands solitary and mysterious, 'without father, without mother, without genealogy', like that Melchizedek..." (p.1).

As to the date of the origin of Hebrews, Scott concludes that, "it was written at some time between 70 and 85, and perhaps nearer to the later date."(p.5).

Who was its author? Paul, Barnabas, Apollos, Luke, Clement, Aquilla and Priscilla, etc. are named as its author by scholars. On grounds

---

(1) W.Manson,op. cit., p. 23.
(2) Ibid., pp. 58f., 105f., etc.
(3) C.Spicq, L'Épître aux Hébreaux, I-II, 1952-53.
(4) Cf. ibid., I, pp. 209ff., 248, 252.

of internal evidence, the author might possibly be one of the men of the type of Apollos, "men of literary and philosophical culture, who sought the key to Christian doctrine in the symbolism of the Old Testament."(p.7). Since, however, "our knowledge of the early history, and especially of the period which immediately succeeded the death of Paul, is fragmentary, ... the search for his name is labour wasted." (p.8).

As to the literary character of the Epistle, Scott concludes as follows: "Perhaps we might best explain it as the work of an eloquent teacher who was separated from his church and wrote a discourse for some one else to deliver in his name. To a vicarious address of this kind he might naturally append a few words of personal remembrance and greeting. The work would thus come to bear its twofold character of speech and Epistle."(p. 9).

The Epistle was probably destined to one of the communities of the Roman church. "The group in question was of a peculiar kind—made up of members who had been long converted and were now proceeding to higher instruction."(p. 14). Scott rejects the traditional view that the writer of Hebrews addresses "a community of Jewish Christians, with the object of warning them against the danger of relapsing into their ancient faith."(p. 15). The title "To the Hebrews" (Πρὸς Ἑβραίους) and the fact that the Epistle is based on assiduous study of the Old Testament prove nothing for this view. "That the Epistle was written by a Jew is more than probable... The fundamental strain of its thought is Hebraic... But whatever may have been his nationality the author was a man of broad culture, who made his protest against tendencies which

affected the church as a whole and not merely some reactionary sect of Jewish ritualists." (p. 19).

Finally, Scott considers Hebrews "as a Gnosis (1) communicated by a revered leader to a select circle of his disciples." (p. 37). This communication of Gnosis is the purpose of the Epistle. "When we thus read the Epistle as a Gnosis, addressed to a special group of the more enlightened converts, we can better understand its hortatory, as well as its theological motive." (p. 41).

James Moffatt, in The Epistle to the Hebrews, 1924, follows the same line as Scott. He finds the one justification for writing a commentary on Πρὸς Ἑβραίους in a fresh point of view. He is convinced "that the criticism of this writing cannot hope to make any positive advance except from two negative conclusions. One is, that the identity of the author and of his readers must be left in the mist where they already lay at the beginning of the second century when the guess-work...began. The other is, that the situation which called forth this remarkable piece of primitive Christian thought had nothing to do with any movement in contemporary Judaism. The writer of Πρὸς Ἑβραίους knew no Hebrew, and his readers were in no sense Ἑβραῖοι ."(ix). This is the point of view from which J.Moffatt has written his commentary.

---

(1) As Scott understands, Gnosis here concerns with "mysteries", which lay beneath and behind the elementary truths. "When the convert had become τέλειος ..., he was expected to ponder the elementary truths and discover what lay beneath and behind them. What was the nature of the change that came about through Baptism? In what manner had the death of Christ operated that it should atone for sins?" (Ibid., p. 36).

In this way, E.F.Scott and J.Moffatt propose "a new approach" to the Epistle, in rejecting the traditional view that the recipients of the Epistle are Jewish-Christians (1). According to Moffatt, the concentration of the author upon the priesthood and sacrifice of Jesus is due in part to his general conception of religion, and not due to the Jewish-Christian recipients (2). For the author religion consists in the fellowship with God on the basis of forgiveness (xliii). And this forgiveness is possible only through the self-sacrifice of Christ as high-priest. Thus "the ideas of the perfect Priest and the perfect Sacrifice are a theological expression, in symbolic language, of what was vital to the classical piety of the early church."(xxxix).

2. E.Kaesemann, Das wandernde Gottesvolk, 1939.

In this study Kaesemann presents the motive of the wandering people of God as the secret basis (die heimliche Basis) of the Epistle to the Hebrews (cf.pp.1,9,156).

When the Epistle shows to the Christian community how big the promise given to them is and how serious the temptations threatening them are, it presents before their eyes the picture of Israel

---

(1) J.Moffatt, ibid., xvi-xvii: "Our writing is not a manifesto to Jewish Christians in general, or to Palestinian Jewish Christians, as Πρὸς Ἑβραίους would imply; indeed it is not addressed to Jewish Christians at all. Whoever were its original readers, they belonged to a definite local group or circle. That is the first inference from the writing itself; the second is, that they were not specifically Jewish Christians... There may have been Christians of Jewish birth among his readers; but he addresses his circle, irrespective of their origin, as all members of the People of God."

(2) Cf.J.Moffatt, ibid., xxv. With regard to this point, W.Manson takes the opposite view. Cf.W.Manson, op. cit.,pp.104f.

wandering through the desert. From such a type the possibilities of the Christian existence are recognizable (p.5). The word of God calls the people out for a journey, the end of which it shows to be the promise. And this end could be reached only when the people keep fast this end and the promise. Consequently, the form of existence of the one who receives the revelation can only be the "Wanderschaft"(p.6). The existential necessity of "Wanderschaft" for the recipients of the revelation exposes the Israel travelling through the desert as the antitype of Christians. This "Wanderschaft" describes the end common both to Israel and Christians as the entering into the rest.

Hence Kaesemann denies "the old prejudice" that Hebrews is a discussion with the Jewish religion. So also the view that the recipients of the Epistle are Jewish Christians, is to be rejected (p.10). In this respect Kaesemann agrees with Juelicher, Scott and Moffatt. The "Wanderschaft" being the attitude of faith (p.19), it is common to the people of the New Testament, no matter of what nationality.

The motive of a way, which leads through this world toward heaven, and on which the wandering people of God travel, is the key to Hebrews. The same motive occupies also the central place in the teaching of Philo. Further, this motive of the wandering people of God can be found in the Gnostic myth of the saved saviour (pp.51ff). Thus Kaesemann tries to prove the Gnostic background of Hebrews. According to him, the Epistle to the Hebrews could only be rightly understood against this background of Gnosis.

Differing both from Philo and Gnosis, however, what characterizes

Hebrews is its historical-eschatological setting. The soteriological significance of the once-for-all event of Jesus' death on the cross is what the author of Hebrews tries to expound. In order to reach this objective, he presents the Christ-event in terms of the patterns and conceptions popular in this Gnostic climate of religious thought of the time (pp.110ff.). By the word of God spoken in and through this historical event of Christ the people are called forth on a journey. The characteristic of this existential form of "Wanderschaft" is eschatology. The existence of the wandering people is determined by what transcends this world, i.e. eternal rest(κατάπαυσις). Which will be realized by the second coming of Christ. Hence comes Kaesemann's emphasis of eschatology.

Last of all, Kaesemann wonders whether the symbolical interpretation of the title of Hebrews: "Ἑβραίοι die heimatlos ueber diese Erde ziehenden, die himmlische Heimat suchenden Frommen", is not absolutely misleading (1).

3. O.Michel, Der Brief an die Hebraeer, Meyer's Commentary, 8 ed., 1949.

Discussing the literary character of Hebrews, Michel presents a view that Hebrews is preaching and not an epistle. Since the author might have been absent from the community in Italy, he sent his preaching with a postscript (13,22-25). It had to be read before the

---

(1) E.Kaesemann,op.cit.,p.156,note 1: "So mag durchaus erwogen werden, ob die von Schiele in American Journal of Theology 9,1905,S. 290-308 und V.Monod, de titulo epistolae vulgo ad Hebraeos inscriptae 1910 vertretene und bei Windisch S.7 zitierte symbolische Deutung der Briefueberschrift wirklich ganz abwegig ist:Ἑβραίοι die heimatlos ueber diese Erde ziehenden, die himmlische Heimat suchenden Frommen." Cf. O. Michel, op.cit.,p.13.

congregation and thus compensate for his absence. By this hypothesis, the much discussed literary problem of the disharmony between the main body and the postscript of the Epistle could be solved without difficulty (pp. 5,8).

As a matter of fact, Michel considers that Hebrews arose from the encounter of the primitive Christian proclamation with the rhetorical discipline of Hellenistic Synagogue-lectures (p.3,note 1). These lectures (Philo, IV Macc) are related closely with Hebrews. By this, the religious-historical place of the Epistle is marked: the Jewish thought puts on the Hellenistic form. Further it must be observed that Hebrews and the Hellenistic Jewish writings in general have not lost their connection with Rabbinic speculation and Oriental Gnosis. The Hellenistic Synagogue held the connection with the "office of Rabbi"(Rabbinat) and is itself the center of various intellectual circles. In this sense Philo himself is only a representative of Hellenistic Synagogue. And in this sense also Hebrews presupposes the existence of Hellenistic Synagogue (p.8).

By this consideration an important religious-historical presupposition is explained: IV Macc, Philo and Hebrews descend from the intellectual atmosphere of Hellenistic Synagogue. They show us the Hellenistic Synagogue-lectures. With regard to its contents, however, Hebrews has overcome the old discipline (p.8).

According to Michel, we have in this Epistle an unknown primitive Christian leader (ἡγούμενος) as the author, who has gone through the Alexandrine culture and apocalyptic-primitive Christian tradition (p.11). He might possibly be an Alexandrine, educated, Jewish-

Christian teacher. Like Johannine writings, Hebrews requires of us the religious-historical knowledge of Judaism (Rabbinics, Apocalyptics) and Hellenism (Gnosis, Philosophy)(p.8,note 1). However, a mysterious darkness hangs over this unknown writer as well as the unknown recipients (pp.14f.).

The one thing which is certain is this: In Hebrews we have not only a theological self-meditation, but also the overtones of a definite situation, in which stands the community (10,32ff.;12,1ff.). In this time of crisis the Epistle answers as the Apostolic word: "Christ has surpassed once for all the old cult and the priestly religion in general. Therefore we must act responding to the word of salvation and persevere in obedience to it until our consummation." (p.15).

Michel summarizes his study as follows:

"Fassen wir zusammen: Ein Amtstraeger des Urchristentums, in alexandrinischer Bildung wohl bewandert, theologisch selbststaendig, jedoch von einer festen apokalyptischen und urchristlichen Tradition getragen, in vielem liturgisch-bekenntnisartigen Gut auch mit der paulinischen Theologie verbunden, schreibt einer italienischen Gemeinde, um sie angesichts der Verfolgung im Glauben und in der Geduld zu staerken. Er kaempft gegen die Laessigkeit der nachapostolischen Zeit mit den Gedanken der fruechristlichen Ueberlieferung." (p.16).

4. W.Manson, The Epistle to the Hebrews, 1951.

W.Manson begins his presentation with the criticism of the older and the modern theory, as observed above. He thinks, "neither the older nor the more recent approach to the problem of Hebrews has sufficiently integrated the Epistle into the historical development of the world-mission of Christianity or brought the situation behind

the letter into clear and adequate focus."(vi). "Neither the older nor the modern interpretation of Hebrews has done adequate justice to the eschatology of the Epistle. By this I mean its supreme concentration of interest on the critical finality of the moment of time in which Christians are placed by the Gospel."(p.9).

In this opinion he has been confirmed by a fresh study of the Stephen records in The Acts of Apostles. As he is convinced, "a straight line runs from the teaching and apologia of the proto-martyr to the Epistle to the Hebrews ... and it is to be regarded as a central line in the development of the Christian world-mission."(vi).

With this conviction he proposes "an approach to the Hebrews which will:

1) integrate the Epistle afresh into the history of world-mission from its inception in Stephen,
2) re-evaluate the potentialities of the religious-situation in such a center of world-mission Christianity as Rome,
3) trace the connection between the doctrine of Hebrews and the theology of the world-mission as a whole, and
4) from careful study of the argument of the Epistle establish conclusion as to the situation and character of the community addressed and so recover for the Epistle its organic position in relation to first-century evangelism and life."(vi-vii).

We shall state here some points of his conclusion.

1) The Epistle is a document of the world-mission of Christianity (p.44).

2) The key to the Epistle is to be found only "by bringing the Epistle into close integration with historical and doctrinal developments occurring within the sphere of the world-mission of Christianity as inaugurated by Stephen and his successors."(p.159).

3) The constitutive features of the world-mission Gospel are: "a) its concentration on the eschatological, heavenly calling of the Church; b) its proclamation of the transcendence of Jesus over the Law and the sacrificial order of the past."(p.45).

4) The key, at once to Stephen's reading of history and to the theology of the writer to the Hebrews is eschatology (p.46).

5) The Epistle is addressed to a group of Jewish Christians at Rome. "This community was drifting from the truth of Christianity, and in danger of a apostatising from the living God."(p.59)

6) In order to avert this catastrophe the Epistle was written. "The Epistle as a whole is indeed an exhortation or appeal with which they (i.e. the readers) are asked to 'bear'." (p.47).

7) The writer of the Epistle might be an unidentified "Alexandrine Jew who had received his institution in Christianity from followers of Stephen."(p. 167).

5. C.Spicq, L'Epître aux Hébreux, I-II, 1952-53.

C.Spicq emphasizes the theological aspect of the Epistle. The Epistle to the Hebrews, which contains elements of dogmatic treatise on the priesthood of Christ, presents itself explicitly as an exhortation (παράκλησις,13,22) of faith, an encouragement to παρρησία and ὑπομονή in the Christian life. It is addressed to all souls menaced in their perseverance by spiritual torpor. The author exhorts them to a contemplative life (vita contemplativa) and a theological study. He directs their thought and mind toward the incarnate Son, suffering and glorious, who through his almighty mediation introduces

men of faith to heaven. The author exalts, on the one hand, the efficacy of the word of God addressed of old to the chosen people and spoken actually to everyone by the Son, while, on the other hand, he exalts the infinite purificatory value of Christ and of the intercession of the heavenly high-priest. These two ideas recapitulate the whole Epistle (I,p.3).

The aim of the author is practical: to comfort and reencourage the Christians who are tried and weary. In a word the Epistle concerns with preserving faith at any cost. As Romans is the document of salvation, Galatians that of liberty, First Corinthians that of fraternal charity, Hebrews is an epistle of faith (p.6).

The author intends to prevent the apostasy menacing the Jews converted to Christianity. This intention determines the theological argument of the Epistle:

1) Persevere and do not apostatize, for Jesus the king of the universe is greater than angels, the grand ministers of God in the old covenant (Heb chaps.1-2).

2) Persevere and do not apostatize, for Jesus the leader and guide of the faithful is greater than Moses, who led the chosen people to the promised land. The generation of the desert could not enter the rest because of their unbelief and disobedience (chaps.3-4,10).

3) Persevere and do not apostatize, for Jesus the incarnate Son of God is the only true high-priest, greater than Aaron and all Levitical priesthood (chaps.7-10).

Thus the Epistle to the Hebrews makes virtue dependent upon contemplation, and attaches perseverance to the deeper knowledge(p.7).

When a Christian suffers from the hardship of life or attacks from without, he has to nourish himself with the food of γνῶσις, that he may strengthen himself and not perish (p.8).

The Epistle represents the classical type of the missionary proclamation of the primitive Church: κηρύγμα of the salvation of the Son of God, or, better expressed, the διδαχή on the Son of God the saviour (p.18).

Spicq is especially concerned with the Philonism of the Epistle (1). According to him, with regard to its thought the Epistle depends upon Johannine theology, while it depends upon Philo in respect to its literary form (2). The doctrine of Hebrews is completely evangelical and apostolic. But the structure of the author's mind and the process of his thinking are not modified by the light of faith. The characteristics of the intellectual, moral and religious mentality of Hebrews is that of Philo (3).

The Epistle was written by Apollo from somewhere in south Italy in ca.68 A.D. It was addressed to a limited group of Jewish Christian in Caesarea or Antioch. They were probably Jewish priests, who were converted by Stephen and took refuge there (4).

---

(1) C.Spicq,op.cit.,I,pp.39-91; Le philonisme de l'Épître aux Hébreux, Rev Bibl,1949,pp.542-572; 1950,pp.212-242; Alexandrinismes dans l'Épître aux Hébreux, Rev Bibl,1951,pp.481-502.
(2) Cf. idem,Alexandrinismes dans l'Épître aux Hébreux, Rev Bibl,1951, p.481. Cf,also L'Origine johannique de la conception du Christ-prêtre dans l'Épître aux Hébreux, in Aux sources de la tradition chrétienne, 1950, pp.258-269.
(3) Cf.L'Épître aux Hébreux, I,chap.III.
(4) Cf.ibid., chaps.VII,VIII,XI.

We may summarize the above survey as follows:

1. The Epistle is

1) a Christian letter with the Alexandrine background: E.F.Scott, James Moffatt;
2) a Christian letter with the Gnostic background: E.Kaesemann;
3) a Jewish-Christian letter with the Alexandrine background: C.Spicq;
a Jewish-Christian letter with Jewish (IV Macc, Philo)- Hellenistic (Gnosis,Philosophy) background: O.Michel;
a Jewish-Christian letter occupying its place in the sphere of the world-mission of Christianity inaugurated by Stephen: W.Manson.

2. Its author is

1) Apollo: C.Spicq;
2) a Jew of the type of Apollo: E.F.Scott;
3) an unidentified Alexandrine Christian Jew: O.Michel, W.Manson;
4) an unknown man under the influence of Philo: James Moffatt.

3. Its recipients are

1) Christians, Jewish and non-Jewish, as the members of the people of God: E.F.Scott,James Moffatt,E.Kaesemann;
2) a Christian community in Italy: O.Michel;
3) a group of Jewish Christians in Rome: W.Manson;
4) a group of Jewish priests converted by the followers of Stephen in Caesarea or Antioch: C.Spicq.

Though a uniform result could not be reached by this survey, the view that the background of the Epistle is Hellenistic-Jewish (1) is supported by many, while the Gnostic background is admitted by E.Kaesemann and O.Michel. With this understanding, we may now proceed to the study of the Epistle itself.

---

(1) Here we use this term synonymously with "Alexandrine", since we regard Philo as a representative of "Hellenistic-Judaism", and not of simple "Judaism", which might include both Rabbinic and Hellenistic Judaism. On this point, we do not think that Michel's distinction between "Hellenistic" (Gnosis, Philosophy) and "Jewish" (Rabbinics, Philo) is a happy one.

III

The Plan of the Epistle

Before entering our topic, we shall present here the plan of the Epistle.

1. Chap.	1-6	The preliminary discussion
	1,1-2,4	The Son of God in contrast with angles
	2,5-2,18	The Son of God in his humiliation
	3,1-3,6	The Son of God and Moses
	3,7-4,13	The promise of the divine rest, toward which the people of God are travelling
	4,14-4,16	Jesus the great high-priest
	5,1-5,10	Levitical high-priest and Jesus Christ the high-priest
	5,11-6,20	Preparation of the recipients for the perfect teaching
2. Chap.	7-10,18	Main part
	7	Christ as the high-priest after the order of Melchizedek
	8	The new covenant
	9	The sacrifice of the new covenant in contrast with that of the old covenant
	10,1-10,18	The uniqueness of this sacrifice
3. Chap.	10,19-13,25	Exhortation and postscriptum

Chapter 2

The Exegetical Method used by the Author in the Epistle

The presentation of the Christ-event in this Epistle consists not primarily in a direct description of the Christ-event itself, but rather in the presentation of the eternal-ever present significance of the event. In course of his presentation as well the author quotes passages from the Old Testament and uses conceptions borrowed from the religious background of the time.

In this chapter we shall survey the exegetical method of the author by examining his use of quotations from the Old Testament. This survey begins by following the approach taken by B.F.Westcott in his work on the Epistle (1), and then proceeds one step further in order to get a clear view of the exegetical method employed in the Epistle. The order observed in this survey is as follows:

1. Enumeration of the passages quoted.
2. Examination of the mode of citation.
3. Discussion of the method of exegesis employed.

By this study a sidelight may be thrown on the topic of this dissertation. Discussions of the conceptions borrowed from the religious background, however, must be deferred to later chapters (2).

---

(1) B.F.Westcott,On the Use of the Old Testament in the Epistle, in The Epistle to the Hebrews, 1 ed.1889,repr.1952,pp.467-495.
(2) On the subject of this chapter, cf.further C.Buechel, Der Hebraeerbrief und das Alte Testament,Theologische Studien u.Kritiken, 1906,pp.508-591; A.Nairne, The Epistle of Priesthood, 1913,pp.248-289; W.Leonard,The Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews,1939,pp.219-384; J.van der Ploeg,L'exégèse de l'Ancien Testament dans l'Epître aux Hébreux,Rev Bibl,1947,pp.187-228; O.Michel, Der Brief an die Hebraeer, 8 ed., 1949, pp.81-83; C.Spicq,L'Épître aux Hébreux, I, 1952,pp.330-350.

I

Quotations

The quotations (allusions excluded) in the order of the Books of the Old Testament are as follows (1):

1. Gen 2,2: Heb 4,4ff.
   Incipit: εἴρηκεν γάρ που : the subject of the saying is God, and not the scripture.
   Text: the subject ὁ θεός and ἐν before τῇ ἡμέρᾳ are added. Otherwise it agrees with LXX and Hebrew.

2. Gen 14,17-20: 7,1ff.
   Not expressly quoted. The author is quite free in quoting this passage from Genesis, putting all he wants to say about Melchizedek together.

3. Gen 21,12: 11,18.
   Incipit: πρὸς ὃν ἐλαλήθη
   Text: the text agrees verbally with LXX, which agrees with Hebrew. Cf. Rom 9,7.

4. Gen 22, 16f.: 6,13f.
   Incipit: ὁ θεὸς ὤμοσεν ... λέγων.
   Text: the text of 6,13 reads ὤμοσεν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ instead of LXX-reading: κατ' ἐμαυτοῦ ὤμοσα ,which agrees with Hebrew. εἰ μήν of 6,14 has various readings (2), while Codex Alexandrinus (= A) of LXX reads εἰ μήν and many others read ἢ μήν . LXX (Hebrew) has τὸ σπέρμα σου (זַרְעֲךָ) for σε.

---

(1) Since Fr.Bleek, (Der Brief an die Hebraeer...,I-III,1828,1836, 1840) and C.Buechel, (Der Hebraeerbrief und das Alte Testament, in Theologische Studien und Kritiken, 1906) many commentators say that in contrast with Paul, who agrees with the Codex Vaticanus (= B) of LXX in his quotation from the Old Testament, the author of Hebrews agrees with the reading of the Codex Alexandrinus (= A). As a matter of fact, the accord of Hebrews with A are numerous, e.g. πυρὸς φλόγα (Ps 104,4: Heb 1,7); εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος (Ps 45,7:1,8); λέγει (Jer 31,31:8,8); ἐποίησα ... κἀγώ (Jer 31,32:8,9); etc. However, Hebrews reads often with B against A,e.g. ἄγγελοι θεοῦ (Deut 32,43: 1,6); ἀνομίαν (Ps 45,8:1,9: this is the reading of p^{46} B,etc.,while א A al read ἀδικίαν in accord with A); τὸν πολίτην αὐτοῦ ... τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ (Jer 31,34:8,11),etc. Cf. C. Spicq, op. cit., I,p.335.

(2) εἰ μήν .... p^{46} 𝔐 D* al
ἢ μήν .... ℜ 1739 pm
εἰ μή .... C latt

5. Ex 19,13: 12,20.
Incipit: τὸ διαστελλόμενον = a divine injunction. A free quotation.

6. Ex 24,8: 9,20.
Incipit: λέγων (Moses).
Text: the text gives τοῦτο for ἰδού (הִנֵּה), ἐνετείλατο for διέθετο (כָּרַת) and ὁ θεός for κύριος (יהוה) against LXX (Hebrew).

7. Ex 25,40: 8,5.
Incipit: φησίν : God, cf. No.1.
Text: the text substitutes δειχθέντα for δεδειγμένον and adds πάντα before κατὰ τὸν τύπον . The LXX agrees with Hebrew.

8. Num 12,7: 3,2.5.6.
Not expressly quoted.
Text: the text substitutes αὐτοῦ (sc.θεοῦ) for μου . Otherwise it agrees with LXX which agrees with Hebrew.

9. Deut 31,6.8: 13,5.
Incipit: αὐτὸς εἴρηκεν . Subject is God, while in LXX Moses speaks to all Israel (31,6) and to Joshua (31,8) about God.
Text: the forms of the verbs are the first person singular, whereas they stand in the second person singular in LXX. Otherwise it agrees with LXX, which agrees with Hebrew.

10. Deut 32,35f.: 10,30.
Incipit: οἴδαμεν γὰρ τὸν εἰπόντα : implicit subject is God (1). Cf. Rom 12,19.
Text: the quotation in 10,30a differs from LXX and is nearer to Hebrew, while that in 10,30b agrees with LXX, which agrees with Hebrew.

11. Deut 32,43: 1,6.
Incipit: λέγει : the subject of λέγει is God.
Text: the text comes from a LXX addition to the Hebrew text of the Song of Moses (2). Cf. Ps 96,7(LXX).

12. 2 Sam 7,14: 1,5.
Incipit: εἶπεν : God is the speaker. In the original context the Lord speaks to Nathan to tell His message to David.
Text: the text agrees with LXX and Hebrew.

---

(1) A 𝔎 pl r sy have λέγει κύριος after ἀνταποδώσω. D 1739 lat adds ὅτι before κρινεῖ κύριος , as LXX has it. Cf.O.Michel, Der Brief an die Hebraeer, p. 237,note 2.
(2) ἄγγελοι θεοῦ .... Codex B of LXX
υἱοὶ θεοῦ .... A

13. Ps 2,7: 1,5; 5,5.
Incipit: εἶπεν (1,5); ὁ λαλήσας(5,5): the subject is God.
Text: the text agrees with LXX and Hebrew.

14. Ps 8, 5-7: 2,6ff.
Incipit: διεμαρτύρατο πού τις λέγων (1).
Text: the text agrees with LXX (2) and Hebrew.

15. Ps 22(21), 23: 2,12.
Incipit: λέγων: the speaker is the Son (Jesus).
Text: the quotation substitutes ἀπαγγέλω for διηγήσομαι. Otherwise it agrees with LXX, which agrees with Hebrew.

16. Ps 40(39), 7-9: 10, 5-7.
Incipit: λέγει : Christ speaks on entering the world.
Text: the text agrees with LXX except in reading οὐκ εὐδόκησας for οὐκ ἠθέλησας (SA',LXX reads ἐζητήσας) and putting ὁ θεός μου before τὸ θέλημά σου while in LXX ὁ θεός μου stands after τὸ θέλημά σου(3).

17. Ps 45(44),7f.: 1,8f.
Incipit: πρὸς δὲ τὸν υἱὸν [λέγει] : God speaks to the Son.
Text: the text agrees with LXX and Hebrew (4).
This psalm is perhaps "an epithalamium composed when a king of Israel or Judah married a foreign (apparently Tyrian) princes" (5), while our author regards it as messianic (6).

18. Ps 95(94),7-11: 3,7-11, partly quoted in 3,15; 4,3 and 4,7.
Incipit: καθὼς λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον
Text: the connection in verse 10 is altered (7). Otherwise

---

(1) J.Moffatt, The Epistle to the Hebrews, ICC, repr.1948, p.22: "Πού τις in such a formula is a literary mannerism familiar in Philo (Ebr.14)..... The τις implies no modification of the Alexandrian theory of inspiration; his words are God's words."
(2) With p^{46} BℵaI the text of Nestle (20th edition) omits the first line of Ps 8,7 against 𝔓 D* pm lat sy.
(3) For גּוּפָה G(= Psalterium Gallicanum) has ὠτία , while BSA have σῶμα .
(4) In accord with Codex A of LXX, ℵ A al read ἀδικίαν (8,9), while p^{46} B, etc. read ἀνομίαν as it stands in Codex B of LXX (עָוֹן).
(5) R.H.Pfeiffer, Introduction to the Old Testament, repr.1948,p.630. Cf.pp.619,637. Further cf. H.Schmidt, Die Psalmen, 1934 ad loc.; A.Bentzen, Messias, 1948, p.12.
(6) Cf. J.Moffatt, op. cit., p.12; R.H.Pfeiffer, op. cit., p.620; Str-B, III,p.679.
(7) Heb 3,9: ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ ; variant: ἐδοκίμασαν f vg sy^P ; ἐδοκίμασάν με MP 𝔎 pl sy^{Pal} ; LXX BSA: ἐδοκίμασαν.

the text of quotation agrees with LXX, which slightly differs from Hebrew in verse 10 (Ἀεὶ πλανῶνται τῇ καρδίᾳ: עַם תֹעֵי לֵבָב הֵם)(1).

19. Ps 97(96),7: 1,6.
Cf.Deut 32,43.

20. Ps 102(101),26-28:1,10-12.
Incipit: πρὸς δὲ τὸν υἱὸν λέγει : God speaks about the Son.
Text: the text agrees with LXX, differing slightly from Hebrew (2).

21. Ps 104(103),4: 1,7.
Incipit: καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀγγέλους λέγει : of the angels God says (3).
Text: the text reads πυρὸς φλόγα (A of LXX reads πυρὸς φλέγα for πῦρ φλέγον (reading of B of LXX). Otherwise it agrees with LXX and Hebrew.

22. Ps 110(109), 1: 1,13.
Incipit: πρὸς τίνα δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἴρηκέν ποτε.
Text: the text agrees with LXX and Hebrew.

23. Ps 110(109), 4: 5,6; 7,17.21.
Incipit: λέγει (5,6); μαρτυρεῖται(7,17)(4); ὁ λέγων (7,21).
Text: the text agrees with LXX and Hebrews (5).

---

(1) J.Moffatt, op.cit.,p.52: "The Ps 95th is headed αἶνος ᾠδῆς τῷ Δαυείδ in the Greek Bible, but the writer throughout (3,7f.) treats it as a direct divine word."
(2) In verse 12a p^{46} B ℜ read ἐλίξεις in accord with BA of LXX, while ℵ* D lat read ἀλλάξεις with S of LXX. H.Windisch comments on this quotation as follows: "An Christus gerichted, feiern diese Worte sein einstmaliges Schoepferwerk, sein kuenftiges Weltzerstoerungswerk und sein eignes ewiges Wesen; wie stark die Ausbildung des Christusdogmas durch Deutung der κύριος -stellen der LXX auf Christus beeinflusst worden ist, zeigt sich hier besonders deutlich." (Der Hebraeerbrief,1 ed., 1913,p.18).
(3) H.Windisch, ibid.,p.17: "λέγει (Gott) spricht oder es heisst, beides nur von der Inspirationsvorstellung aus zu verstehen, da Ps 103 LXX urspruenglich ein Lobpreis durch den Mund eines Menschen ist." Cf.Str-B,III,p.678.
(4) Variant: μαρτυρεῖ C ℜ pl
(5) In accord with A of LXX p^{46} P 2005 pc lat have εἶ after σύ in Heb 5,6. Cf. critical apparatus for 7,17.21.

24. Ps 118(117),6: 13,6.
Incipit: ὥστε θαρροῦντας ἡμᾶς λέγειν.
Text: the text agrees with LXX and Hebrew(1).

25. Prov 3,11f.: 12,5f.
Incipit: παράκλησις, ἥτις ὑμῖν ὡς υἱοῖς διαλέγεται (2).
Text: the text agrees with LXX (B^{+} has ἐλέγχει) against Hebrew.

26. Is 8,17f.: 2,13.
Incipit: πάλιν [λέγων].
Text: the text has ἐγώ inserted before ἔσομαι. Otherwise it agrees with LXX and Hebrew.

27. Jer 31(38),31-34: 8,8-12; partly quoted in 10,16.
Incipit: λέγει (8,8); μετὰ γὰρ τὸ εἰρηκέναι .... λέγει κύριος (10,15f.) (3).
Text: the text agrees closely with LXX and differs from Hebrew.

28. Hb 2,3.4: 10,37f.
Not expressly quoted.
Text: the author (a) adds ὁ to ἐρχόμενος; (b) changes οὐ μὴ χρονίσῃ into χρονίσει; (c) reverses the order of last two clauses, and (d) shifts μου in front of ἐκ πίστεως (4). Otherwise it agrees with LXX, but differs from Hebrew.

29. Hgg 2,6: 12,26ff.
Free quotation.

---

(1) p^{46} A 𝔎 D pl sy^{h} have καί before οὐ against 𝔓 bo it vg sy^{p} : A of LXX has καί .

(2) J.Moffatt, op.cit., p.200: "The παράκλησις is personified rhetorically: Ἥτις (2,3) ὑμῖν (for the scripture applies to all believers) ὡς υἱοῖς διαλέγεται . It is the παράκλησις of God, who speaks as a father to his son (υἱέ μου), though in the original 'son' is merely the pupil of the sage (personifying the divine wisdom)."

(3) Some MSS have ὕστερον λέγει (69 104 pm sy^{h}), or τότε εἴρηκεν (1611) before καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν in verse 17 of chapter 10. Cf. J.Moffatt, op.cit., p.141; O.Michel, op.cit., p.227; also cf.R.S.V. in loc.

(4) 10,38:

μου ἐκ πίστεως	.... p^{46} 𝔓 pc r vg Cl
ἐκ πίστεώς μου	.... D* pc d e sy Eus
ἐκ πίστεως	.... p^{13} 𝔎 pl

The distribution of the quotations is as follows:

Pentateuch		
Genesis	4	
Exodus	3	
Numbers	1	
Deuteronomy	3	
		11
Historical Books		
2 Sam	1	
		1
Prophets		
Isaiah	1	
Jeremiah	1	
Habakkuk	1	
Haggai	1	
		4
Psalms		12
Proverbs		1
		29

On this distribution we can, with B.F.Westcott, make some remarks.

1. "Of the twenty-nine passages quoted twenty-three are taken from the Pentateuch and the Psalms, the fundamental Law and the Book of common devotion.

2. "It is yet more remarkable that, with two exceptions (2 Sam 7,14; Is 8,17), all the primary passages which are quoted to illustrate the true nature of the Person and Work of Christ are taken from the Psalms. No direct prophetic word is quoted.

3. "The large proportion of passages taken verbally from the Greek Psalter points to the familiar use of the Book both by the writer and by the readers."(1).

---

(1) B.F.Westcott, op.cit.,p.473.
Cf. R.H.Pfeiffer,op.cit.,p.620: "The Psalter reflects far more the religion of the synagogue than that of the Temple: it expresses the religious emotion of the laity rather than the rituals performed in the sanctuary by the clergy."; p.629: "The Psalter presents the thought, faith, and worship of post-exilic Judaism."

4. Considering the above distribution of the quotations together with the fact that the author is using not the Hebrew text, but the Septuagint, as is evident from the above enumeration, we may safely draw the following conclusion: both the author and his readers lived in the religious atomosphere and heritage of the Judaism of the Diaspora, or the Hellenistic Judaism (1).

II

The Mode of Citation

As the foregoing enumeration shows, the quotations are without exception made anonymously. No mention is made of the name of the writer (2). God, the Son (Christ) and the Holy Spirit are presented indifferently as speaking, as it is demonstrated by the following table.

---

(1) This conclusion will further be evidenced in following chapters.
(2) Compare with quotations made in other books of the New Testament, e.g. Rom 4,3 (ἡ γραφὴ λέγει); 9,17 (ἡ γραφὴ λέγει); 10,16 (Ἡσαΐας λέγει); 10,19 (Μωϋσῆς λέγει); 11,9 (Δαυὶδ λέγει), etc.

The Speaker	Heb	Passage quoted	Heb	Passage quoted
God	1,5	Ps 2,7	5,6	Ps 110,4
	1,6	Deut 32,43 LXX	6,13f.	Gen 22,16
	1,7	Ps 104,4	8,5	Ex 25,40
	1,8f.	Ps 45,7f	8,8ff.	Jer 31,31-34
	1,10f.	Ps 102,26ff.	10,16ff.	Jer 31,33
	1,13	Ps 110,1	10,30	Deut 32,35f.
	3,15	Ps 95,8	11,18	Gen 21,12
	4,3	Ps 95,11	12,5f.	Prov 3,11f.
	4,4	Gen 2,2	12,20	Ex 19,13
	4,7	Ps 95,7	12,26ff.	Hgg 2,6
	5,5	Ps 2,7	13,5	Deut 31,6.8
The Son (Christ)	2,12	Ps 22,23	10,5	Ps 40,7ff.
	2,13	Is 8,7;8,18LXX		
The Holy Spirit	3,7ff.	Ps 95,7ff.		
Man	2,6ff.	Ps 8,5ff.	13,6	Ps 118,6
	9,20	Ex 24,8		
Not expressly quoted	3,2.5.6	Nu 12,7	10,37f.	Hb 2,3f
	7,1f.	Gen 14,17-20		

Remarks: 1. In Heb 3,7ff. Ps 95,7ff. is introduced with the Holy Spirit as the speaker, while in 4,3 and 4,7 the same passage has God as the speaker; 2. out of three passages quoted as spoken by man, Heb 2,6ff. (Ps 8,5ff.) has God as the real speaker, while Ps 118,6 is quoted in Heb 13,6 as "our" confession in response to God's promise; in Heb 9,20 the words of Moses sprinkling the blood, etc. (Ex 24,8) are quoted.

In these quotations the writers of the passages quoted become transparent and through them the author sees God as the real speaker. The written words of the scripture become the living word of God ever confronting "us" (1). This becomes evident when

---

(1) Cf. Heb 4,12f.

we examine the quotation-formula, e.g. of Heb 2,6 (Ps 8,5ff). Here it stands: διεμαρτύρατο δέ πού τις λέγων: "'someone' witnessed 'somewhere' saying" ("It has been testified somewhere", R.S.V.). This formula is a literary style familiar in Philo (1). This passage, however, implies that the words of "someone" are spoken by God, or God speaks by him (2). Also in other passages the words spoken by the prophet in his own person are treated as divine, e.g. Moses: 1,6 (Deut 32,43); 10,30 (Deut 32,35f.); Isaiah: 2,13 (Is 8,17f.).

The author aptly indicates the key to his understanding at the outset: "In many and various ways God spoke of old to our fathers by the prophets." (Heb 1,1.R.S.V.).

III

The Method of Exegesis employed in the Epistle

What characterizes the author's use of the Old Testament is the view that the Old Testament as a whole reveals in successive stages the history of "the people of God" (ὁ λαὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ 4,9) wandering through this world toward the final goal, i.e. the final rest prepared for and promised to them (4,1.3.11) in the "kingdom that can not be shaken" (βασιλεία ἀσάλευτος ,12,28). As God rested on

---

(1) Philo,Ebr 61: εἶπε γάρ πού τις ; Rer Div Her 181: ὡς εἶπέ τις τῶν ἀρχαίων ; Fug 61: ὡς ἔφη τις . Cf.O.Michel, op.cit., p.70 and note 2 to the same page.
(2) Cf.H.Windisch,op.cit.,p.22; J.Moffatt, op.cit.,p.22.

the seventh day from all His work when He created the world (Gen 2,2), so it is promised as a heritage that the people of God will enter this rest (4,4). To the author the Old Testament is, therefore, the record of God's educating and disciplining His people toward this final goal (παιδεία κυρίου ,12,5). The people of Israel were given a promise by God through Abraham (6,13; 11,8ff.) and had been disciplined under the institution of the Levitical Law toward the fulfilment of the promise: the new covenant mediated by Christ. Consequently the Old Testament as an historical record is seen from a point of view of divine eternal economy of grace, with God as the real subject of history. The author regards the historical record of the Old Testament sub specie aeternitatis of divine economy.

This view is expressed by the author in terms of revelation as follows:

"In many and various ways God spoke of old to our fathers; but in these last days he has spoken to us by a Son." (1,1.R.S.V.).

As God is the subject of revelation made "of old" and also "in these last days", there is no discontinuity between these two revelations when they are seen from God's side, but the revelations in the Old Testament proceed gradually toward the final and decisive (ἐφάπαξ) revelation in the Son (1). As B.F.Westcott puts it, the readers of the Epistle "are taught to recognize in the Old Testament the foreshadowings of that growing purpose which the Gospel completes and crowns."(2).

---

(1) Cf.J.S.Javet, Dieu nous parla Neuchatel,1945.
(2) B.F.Westcott, op.cit.,p.481.

From the above observation we may conclude that what regulates the author's interpretation of the Old Testament is his understanding of the divine education of the people of God and of the world at large. Or again, the author interprets historical events recorded in the Old Testament in their eternal significance. The context in which the event is seen is not historical, but eternal-divine.

This method, however, does not deprive the interpreted fact of its status as real historical event. Here is an essential difference between this method and an allegorical method like that of Philo (1). Philo regards the Old Testament as a collection of eternal truths. But our author sees in the Old Testament the historical record of a people of God wandering through this world toward the final goal under God's discipline. The Old Testament is the record of God's purpose anticipating its consummation in Christ. So an event in the Old Testament is seen with Christ-event as its final goal or the end (2).

---

(1) Erich Auerbach, Typological Symbolism in Medieval Literature, Yale French Studies, p.6: "May I draw the attention of my readers to the important difference which obtains between figurism and other similar forms of thinking such as allegorism or symbolism. In these patterns, at least one of the two elements combined is a pure sign, but in a figural relation both the signifying and the signified facts are real and concrete historical events. In an allegory of love or in a religious symbol at least one of the terms does not belong to human history; it is an abstraction or sign. But in the sacrifice of Isaac considered as a figure of the sacrifice of Christ, it is essential, and has been stressed with great vigor, at least in the occidental tradition, that neither the prefiguring nor the prefigured event lose their literal and historical reality by their figurative meaning and interrelation."

(2) Cf.O.Michel, op.cit.,p.18: "Die typologische Auslegung des ATs loescht den geschichtlichen Vorgang nicht aus, sondern sieht ihn in einem von Gott gefuegten Zusammenhang mit dem endzeitlichen Ereignis der Sendung des Sohnes." Cf. also ibid.,p.81.

However, that event is not regarded as an historical event itself, but it is seen from its eternal significance projected on the plane of the eternal economy of God. To use Erich Auerbach's expression, the author takes "recourse to a vertical projection of this event on the plane of providential design by which the event is revealed as a prefiguration or a fulfilment ... of other events."(1).

Consequently, the method of exegesis employed in the Epistle is typological (2). An event recorded in the Old Testament becomes a prefiguration or type of the Christ-event as figure or antitype (3), when that event is seen from its projected figuration, i.e. from its eternal significance projected on the plane of the divine economy.

---

(1) E.Auerbach, op.cit., p.5.

(2) Taking the word παραβολή (9,9) seriously, C.Spicq proposes to designate the figurative symbolism of the Old Testament as "christological parabolism" According to his, the word παραβολή signifies essentially a "comparison" between occurrencees to evoke an intrinsic harmony of the two covenants, and unity of the two revelations. Cf.C.Spicq, op.cit., I,p.347.

(3) The term "typology" goes back to Rom 5,14: Ἀδάμ, ὅς ἐστιν τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος. We may quote what Sanday-Headlam (ICC) comments on the word τύπος. "τύπος: (1) the 'impression' left by a sharp blow (τὸν τύπον τῶν ἥλων John 20,25), in particular the 'stamp' struck by a die; (2) inasmuch as such a stamp bears the figure on the face of the die, 'copy', 'figure' or 'representation'; (3) by a common transition from effect to cause, 'mould', 'pattern', 'exemplar'; (4) hence in the special sense of the word type, which we have adopted from the Greek of the N.T. 'an event or person in history corresponding in certain characteristic features to another event or person'. That which comes first in order of time is properly the type, that which comes afterwards the antitype (ἀντίτυπος 1 Pet 3,21). These correspondences form a part of the Divine economy of revelation" (Romans, ICC, 5 ed., p.136). The best example of typology is given in 1 Cor 10,1-4. Cf. H.Lietzmann, 1 Cor ad loc.

According to M.J.Lagrange (on Gal 4,24), "Le type est une personne, une chose, ou un événement qui esquisse d'avance certains traits d'une autre personne, d'un autre événement'" (Indirect quotation from C.Spicq, op.cit.,I,p.346).

Repetition is, therefore, characteristic of typology — not a repetition of the events in their "historical" context, but of the events in context of divine purpose in history, yet always preserving their historicity. Type and antitype, prefigure and figure are events seen in the context of divine economy. Both of these events are historical, not as historical events themselves, but in so far as they are seen in this context of divine economy. In other words, in so far as they are seen on the projected plane of the divine economy, God being the subject of these two events.

In Heb 7,1-3 Melchizedek is a type of Christ, who is foreshadowed or prefigured by this type. And Christ is antitype of Melchizedek, who is made like (ἀφωμοιωμένος) Christ (1). In Heb 11,17-19 the story of Abraham's offering of Isaac (Gen 22, 1-18) is also interpreted typologically. "By faith Abraham, when he was tested, offered up Isaac", considering "that God was able to raise man even from the dead; hence figuratively speaking (ἐν παραβολῇ), he did receive him back." (11,17-19). Thus Abraham did "recover him in a way that prefigured the resurrection... Isaac's restoration was to Abraham a sort of resurrection." (2). Here in this passage the historical event of Isaac's sacrifice and restoration is a prefiguration of Christ's death and resurrection (3).

---

(1) When Calvin comments on the passage as follows, he seems to have understood the author's typological method of interpretation: "Et sane oportuit in eo, qui typus erat filii Dei, omnia esse praeclara. Christum vero fuisse hoc typo adumbratum patet ex psalmo." Calvini opera IV(Corpus Reformatorum LXXXII), p.82.
(2) J.Moffatt, op.cit., p.177.
(3) Cf.The Epistle of Barnabas, 7,3; Cl Al Paed I,5,1; Aug Civ D XVI, 32; B.F.Westcott, op.cit.,p.367;O.Michel, op.cit.,p.268;C.Spicq, op. cit.,II,p.354.

As J.Moffatt and, following him, W.Manson admit, "the nearest approach to Πρὸς Ἑβραίους , in its treatment of the O.T., is the speech of Stephen, the Hellenistic Jewish Christian, in Ac 7,1-53, where we have a similar use of the typological method and a similar freedom in handling the OT story."(1). To go into detail with regard to this matter, however, is not our concern here.

Finally, what enables our author to interpret the Old Testament typologically is the Holy Spirit. One can not deduce from the text of the Old Testament the prefiguration or foreshadowing of Christ-event by means of a logical inference. One reads rather the text inspired by the Holy Spirit (2). Or with E.Auerbach we may say, "The figurative interpretation inspite of its stress on historical completeness derives its inspiration from the eternal wisdom of God, in whose mind there does not exist a difference of time. In His sight, what happens here and now, has happened from the very beginning, and may recur at any moment in the flow of time."(3). Inspired by the Holy Spirit, the author of Hebrews penetrates, so to speak, deep into this hidden eternal wisdom of God and reads the Old Testament under the light of this wisdom. Thus he not only discovers the objective correspondence between the old and the new economy, but also discerns a latent evangelism in the Old Testament(4).

---

(1) J.Moffatt,op.cit.,lxii;cf.W.Manson, The Epistle to the Hebrews, pp. 45f.
(2) Cf. C.Spicq,op.cit.,I,p.349.
(3) E.Auerbach, op.cit.,p.9.
(4) Cf. C.Spicq,op.cit.,I,p.349; O.Michel, op.cit.,pp.81f.

Chapter 3

The Son of God I

Exegesis of 1,1-2,4

The theme of this passage is the Son of God. What the author develops here is not the manner and virtue by which Jesus became the Son of God, but rather a view of the full significance of his Sonship, in and through whom God revealed His will. Jesus as Christ and the Son is to be understood a tacit presupposition, which our author received as the tradition of the primitive Church. He simply assumes this fact and asserts that this revelation in the Son is unique and absolute. It transcends all revelation in the past through prophets. He does this by describing the functions of the Son (1,1-4). Then he supports this by quotations from the Old Testament (1,5-13). The description then concludes with a paraenesis (2,1-4).

In this chapter we shall interpret the author's presentation of the significance of the Son by minute exegesis. This will lay bare the foundation upon which the author built up his Christology, thus preparing for further development of what is implied in the Son. In the following we present first an analysis of the trend of thought and then an exegesis verse by verse.

I

Without praescriptum the Epistle opens with a long sentence (vv.1-4), the subject of which is first God (vv.1-2), then the Son of God (vv.3-4). The author first describes how after so many years of God's speaking through and in prophets finally in these last days He spoke to "us" through His Son. This suggests that the author understands the Son of God at the outset as "the final disclosure of God's mind and purpose"(vv.1-2a) (1).

God appointed His Son the heir of all things, through whom also He created the world. The Son is as well the heir of the world as the mediator of the creation (2). Thus he is the beginning and the end of the world (v.2b), pre-existing and post-existing.

Although verse 3 is formally connected with the foregoing verse as a ὅς -sentence, yet it is an independent sentence in a solemn liturgical style (3). It presents us a complete picture of Christ (4). The verse consists of four members.

1) The Son is the effulgence of the glory of God and the exact reproduction of His nature. 2) This Son is upholding the universe by his word of power. He keeps the world from collapsing, upholding it as it goes on (5). 3) Without describing how

---

(1) J.Moffatt,op.cit.,p.1.
(2) "Der Mittler der Weltschoepfung", A.Seeberg, Der Brief an die Hebraeer, 1912,p.9. Cf. O.Michel, op.cit.,p.35.
(3) This will be discussed later.
(4) Cf. O.Michel, op.cit.,p.38,45.
(5) Cf. H.Windisch, op.cit.,2 ed.,1931, p.12; O.Michel, op.cit., p.40f.

this Son as the effulgence of God's glory and the "character" of His nature became man and was crucified, our verse points at once to the effect of his death: the purification for sins (1). 4) The last member of the verse describes Son's exaltation without referring to his resurrection. Having done his atoning work he "returned to his former proximity and intimacy with the Father" (2) and sat down at the right hand of God (3).

Verse 4 explicates the exaltation of the Son described in the foregoing verse. The Son ascended to heaven and was enthroned, having become as much superior to angels as the name he has inherited is more excellent than theirs.

In summa, eight predicates are related to the Son.

1. The Son is the heir of all things (v.2b),
2. Through whom He created the world (v.2b).
3. The Son is the effulgence of the glory of God, and
4. The exact reproduction of His essence.
5. The Son is upholding the universe by his word of power.
6. He made purification for sins, and
7. Sat down at the right hand of God (v.3).
8. He became as much superior to angels as the name he inherited is more excellent than theirs (v.4).

---

(1) Cf.2,14ff.; 5,5ff.; 9,12.15.28.
(2) T.H.Robinson, The Epistle to the Hebrews, Moffatt Commentary, 1933,p.4.
(3) Cf.1,13; 8,1; 10,12; 12,12.

In the following passage (vv.5-14) comes a sequence of Scripture prooftexts.

1. 1,5: Ps 2,7; 2 Sam 7,14: the divine Sonship of Christ.
2. 1,6-9: Ps 97,7 (Deut 32,43); 104,4; 45,7f.: Christ's supreme rank and Lordship.
3. 1,10-12: Ps 102,25-27: His part in the work of creation.
4. 1,13: Ps 110,1: His enthronement and exaltation above the angels (1).

According to some scholars, this passage is a picture of "enthronement" (2). Namely, 1) verse 5 is a solemn naming of the Son (Ps 2,7; 2 Sam 7,14); 2) then follows the presentation (Vorstellung) of the Son before the powers of heaven who must acknowledge him as the Son in his new dignity and must pay homage to him (v.6 = Dt 32,43); 3) lastly comes the sitting on the throne (v.13 = Ps 110,1).

2,1-4: Warning. Thus "God's final revelation has been made in his Son, who is far superior to the angels; therefore, beware of taking it casually and carelessly" (3). Here the author uses the argumentum a minori ad maius: "For if the message declared by angels was valid and every transgression or disobedience received a just retribution, how shall we escape if we neglect such a great salvation?" (R.S.V.) (4). God's final and decisive

---

(1) Cf. W.Manson, The Epistle to the Hebrews, 1951,p.92.
(2) Cf. O.Michel,op.cit.,pp.46ff.,54; E.Kaesemann, Das wandernde Gottesvolk, 1939,pp.59f.
(3) J.Moffatt,op.cit.,p.1.
(4) Cf.10,28-31; J.Moffatt,op.cit.,p.18.

revelation. In His Son God requires of the hearer the decisive response. To neglect His word of revelation means to reject it.

II

Ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν ἐν υἱῷ (v.2a).

Ἐπ' ἐσχατου τῶν ἡμερῶν (1) corresponds to a hebraic phrase בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים and its aramaic translation בְּסוֹף יוֹמַיָּא (at the end of the days). It means virtually the time of Messiah (2).

As creation (3) and "Heilsgeschichte" (4) were set forth by God's speaking, so also the eschatological Christ-event has begun with the word of God. "In these last days God has spoken to us by a Son" (R.S.V.). What has He spoken (ἐλάλησεν)? As J.Moffatt puts it, "There is no special reference in ἐλάλησεν to the teaching of Jesus" (5). But rather what the author is thinking of is the Son himself as the word of God. God manifested Himself in His Son not "in many and various ways" as "He spoke of old to the fathers by prophets", but in the final and

---

(1) The same idea is expressed with "ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων" (9,26). Cf.1 Pet 1,20; Herm sim IX,12,3; τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων (1 Cor 10,11); ThWB I,p.203.
(2) Cf. ThWB. II,pp.695,945ff.;Str-B. III,p.671.Gen 49,1; Num 24,14; Dt 31,29; Jes 2,2; Jer 23,20; Hos 3,5; Mi 5,1; Da 10,14, etc.
(3) 1,2.3.
(4) 1,1.
(5) J.Moffatt, op.cit.,p.2.

decisive way. Here we have to observe an essential difference between two ways of God's speaking as our author understands it.

Πάλαι ὁ θεὸς λαλήσας τοῖς πατράσιν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις(1): God spoke His message through prophets. In this case His message and the instrument are different. God spoke something through prophets. In the case of His speaking by His Son, on the contrary, the message spoken and the instrument of it are the same. The Son is the messenger and the message at once. The Son himself is God's speaking to us. As J.Moffatt puts it, "The Christian revelation was made through the Jesus who had lived and suffered and ascended, and the reference is not specifically to his teaching, but to his personality and career, in which God's saving purpose came to full expression."(2). This conviction of our author is expressed precisely and concisely by "Jesus the Son of God" (4,14). Thus the revelation by His Son is final and decisive.(3).

By these first two verses (1-2a) thus far considered the author "brings in the eschatological note" (4), or, otherwise expressed, he brings the reader of the Epistle right into the eschatological

---

(1) λαλήσας τοῖς πατράσιν :
1) τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν..... $p^{46(Corr)}$ 1836 pc t v Chr
2) τοῖς πατράσιν ..... ℵ𝔍 𝔓 DEFG
" τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν " of the first group seems to be the more natural expression for "fathers" than " τοῖς πατράσιν " of the second group. Hence the "unnatural", difficult reading of the second group seems to be more probable than that of the first group.
(2) J.Moffatt, op.cit.,p.19.
(3) On this topic, cf. J.S.Javet, Dieu nous parla, Neuchatel, 1945.
(4) W.Manson, op.cit.,p.89.

situation. As W.Manson puts it, "with Christ the last hour of the time has struck. The New Age, the eternal, final order, has anounced itself." (1). "We" (ἡμεῖς), the author says, are standing at the very end of these days looking toward the dawn of the new days (ὁ μέλλων αἰών,6,5). We Christians as God's people are the wanderers in this world journeying toward the city of the eternal world (12,22) (2). This eschatological situation of "ours" is brought in and revealed at once by the word of God speaking to "us" through Christ.

Christ is, therefore, the living word of God. Christ's nature, (his coming into the world and) the work of redemption, his (resurrection and) intercession in heaven, in one word, Christ's "way" is God's speaking to us (3). Not only the recipients of the Epistle, but anyone who reads it as well is directly facing the living word of God. God who has spoken "to us" in His Son, is speaking to us, the sons of the twentieth century, through the Epistle to the Hebrews. Any reader of any time is thus directly put into the eschatological situation. With the author he is encountering the eternal economy of God in the Christ-event, whose soteriological significance the author is going to develop in this Epistle.

---

(1) W.Manson, op.cit.,p.89.
(2) E.Kaesemann (op.cit.) and R.Bultmann (Theologie des N.T.,1948, p.176) see this motive fully developed in 3,7-4,13(3,7-4,11).
(3) Cf.O.Michel,op.cit.,p.37: "Religionsgeschichtliche Denkmotive schwingen wohl mit, entscheidend ist aber die Verbundenheit der Christologie mit dem lebendigen Wort Gottes (1,2). Sein Kommen auf die Erde und seine Erhoehung, sein Wort und sein Weg sind Gottes Sprechen zu uns."

This situation brought in by verse 1-2a makes the Christology of the Epistle genuinely Christian, whatever its religious-historical background may be. Here Christ stands in the unique relation to God. He is a word of God not only in the sense of the vehicle of some meaning, but also in the sense of the message itself. In him God has spoken and is speaking to us, revealing His righteousness and mercy toward us and thus opening the way to the salvation for us. As we will see later, the author may use some "borrowed terms" to state Christ's significance as the Son of God and as saviour, but these terms are "metaphors" (1) to express this unique significance of Christ.

III

1. The Son is the heir of all things: ὃν ἔθηκεν (sc. ὁ θεὸς) κληρονόμον πάντων.

The implication of the term κληρονόμος is fully set out in the parable of the wicked husbandmen, Mk 12,1-12 (Mt 21,33-46); Lk 20,9-19). The heir is the son (or, "beloved son",Mk,Lk) and the heritage is the kingdom of God. With the first proposition, i.e. the heir is the son, the firm connection between sonship and heirship is established (2).

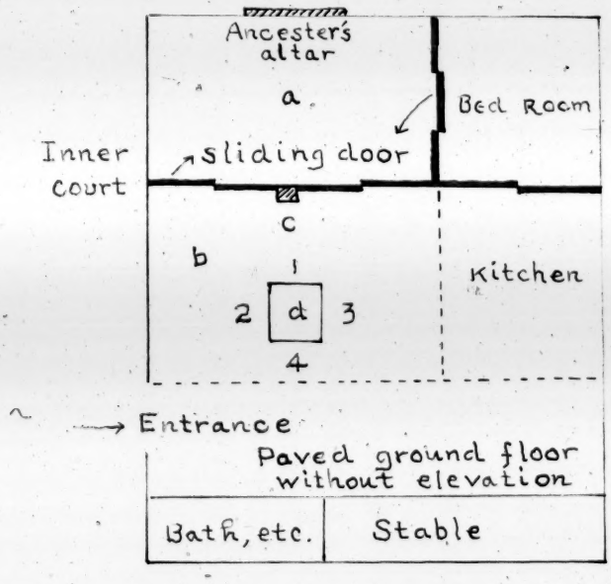
---

(1) J.Moffatt,op.cit.,p.6.
(2) Cf.Ps 2,7; Gal 4,7; Herm s V,2,6. Also cf. ThWB III,pp.781f. According to the tradition of the prewar-Japan the eldest son is called "Ato-tori" (literally translated, "one who succeeds

to his father"). This term is somewhat an honourable one. For example, when someone calls his neighbour's eldest son "Ato-tori", instead of calling him by his first name, then he is in someway paying respects to his neighbour's family, not necessarily to this son in his own person. The eldest son is "Ato-tori" by his birth. Thus the heirship belongs to his birthright, except in an extraordinally case, when, e.g. in case of some mental disease the eldest son is put out of his heirship by a legal declaration.

His rank in the family is second only to the house master, in ordinary case, his father. Every member of the house, even his mother have to pay respects to him. This may be shown by a "hierarchical" order of the sitting places around the hearth.

A groundplan of a middle class farmer's house



a. Main room with ancester's altar. This room becomes master's or guest's bed room.
b. Sitting room with an hearth where woods or charcoal is burned.
(1) "Yoko-za", i.e. master's seat.
(2) "Kyaku-za", i.e. guest's seat.
(3) House wife's seat.
(4) Younger son's or minor guest's seat.
c. "Daikoku-bashira", i.e. the main pillar of the house. The floor is some three feet elevated from the ground matted with "Tatami", i.e. Japanese mat.
d. The hearth, some three feet square.

This order of the sitting places must be strictly observed. No one, except the eldest son, is permitted to sit at the house master's seat while he is absent. House wife's seat is also to be occupied by her alone, or in case of her death or absence, by her daughter. To violate this means to insult the house-dignity. When a guest expresses incidentally his willingness to keep this order of sitting places, he is paying a respect to the family. The seat permitted to him is (2) or (4).

Now our passage says that God appointed the Son the heir of all things. The Son was the heir by God's appointment. He did not become the heir by himself. Nor is the heirship a thing to be claimed by the Son as if it were a legal right (1). It is not so, because the sonship of Christ is not fully exhausted in his being the Son (2), but it will be completed only when he has done what he sees his Father doing (3). Thus the appointment of the heir seems to correspond to the "enthronement" of verse 3d. This view is supported by many scholars (4). However, even though we take this position, we can not say that the preexistent Son is not the heir. He is the Son and the heir as well. How can we deal with this paradox that the preexistent Son who is the heir, is also appointed the heir at his enthronement? As it seems to us, Kaesemann's interpretation is most probable. According to him, the Son who was appointed (or destined to be) the heir in his being in Godhead, is "publicly" declared and appointed the heir, when he has accomplished his work of atonement (5). This does not mean that a "possibility" of becoming the heir is developed and

---

(1) Cf. Heb 5,5.
(2) Here lies also a problem of relationship between the pre-existent Son and the nomination of the Son at the enthronement.
(3) Cf. ThWB III,p.782.
(4) E.Riggenbach, Hebraeerbrief, 1922,pp.6-7; H.Windisch, op.cit., p.10;E.Kaesemann,op.cit.,pp.58,61; W.Foerster, ThWB. III,p.782.
(5) Cf. E.Kaesemann, op.cit.,p.70. J.Moffatt supports Kaesemann's position, when he says as follows: "The author shares with Paul the view that the Son is the Son before and during his incarnate life, and yet perhaps Son in a special sense in consequence of the resurrection - or rather, as our author would have preferred to say in consequence of the ascension. This may be the idea underneath the compressed clauses at the opening of the epistle (1,1-5)." (op.cit.,xl).

a "possibility" of becoming the heir is developed and realized when the Son is exalted to heaven, but it means rather that the destined heirship of the Son becomes real through the appointment of God. Thus the point of this passage is not when the Son is appointed the heir, but the fact that God appointed him the heir. The temporal order of the pre-existent, historical and post-existent Son is the projection of the "eternal" significance of the work of God done in Jesus into the temporal horizon.

2. Through whom also he created the world: δι' οὗ καὶ ἐποίησεν τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Before proceeding to the exegesis of the passage, we shall glance briefly at the semantic development of the term . This may help us in explicating the meaning of the passage against its background.

I. Non-biblical usages of the term.

1. Life-time, life: ψυχή τε καὶ αἰών, Hom Il.16,453, etc.

2. Age, generation: ὁ μέλλων αἰών (posterity), Demosth 18,199.

3. One's life, destiny: Soph Trach. 34.

4. Long space of time, age: ἀπ' αἰῶνος (of old), Hes Theog.609.

5. Eternity opposed to χρόνος : Plato distinguished between αἰών as timeless eternity and χρόνος as time, which is created with the world as a moving image of the eternity, Tim. 37d.

6. Period of existence: Corresponding to his teaching of the eternity of the world, Aristotle identified the αἰών of the world with χρόνος ἄπειρος , Cael.II,1.283b 26ff. Accordingly he defines the αἰών as " τὸ γὰρ τέλος τὸ περιέχον τὸν τῆς ἑκάστου ζωῆς χρόνον ..... αἰὼν ἑκάστου κεκλήται ", Idem, I,9. 279a 23ff. That is to say, αἰών is a period of existence of each thing.

7. In connection with Plato, Philo called αἰών : " τὸ χρόνου παράδειγμα καὶ ἀρχέτυπον", Deus Imm.32. χρόνος is βίος of the κόσμος αἰσθητός, while αἰών is the βίος of God and of the κόσμος νοητός. It belongs to the essence of αἰών that it is an eternal to-day, Fug.57.

8. Last of all, the term became personified in the hellenistic period and was used as title of an eternal god: Αἰών . Cf. Heraclitus Epigrammaticus, Anthologia Graeca,900,etc.

II. αἰών in the meaning of "long time", "eternity".

1. The formula: "of eternity", "in eternity".

With a preposition αἰών is used to designate the unlimited past or future: ἀπ' αἰῶνος (Lk 1,70; Acts 3,21,etc.); ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος (Jn 9,32); εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (very often in Jn,e.g.4,14). Only from its context is it possible to decide whether the term means "eternity" or "a long,continual time". So, e.g. οἱ ἅγιοι ἀπ' αἰῶνος προφῆται : "the holy prophets from of old" (Acts 3,21).

In order to express the proper meaning of "eternity", the plurals are used. We find this usage especially in Doxology:

εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας (Mt 6,13 (1); Lk 1,33; Rom 1,25,etc.); εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας (Jude 25). This pluraristic use is to emphasize what is already implied in the singular of the term. In the Epistle to the Hebrews " εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα "(5,6;7,24) is the same as " εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας " (13,8). The double use of αἰών is also employed in order to emphasize the eternity implied in the term: εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος, Heb 1,8; εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων(21 times, mostly in the Pauline writings and the Revelation).

These formulas do not constitute a peculiarity of the New Testament usage. They belong to the usage of Hellenistic Judaism, since the Septuagint. The Septuagint used αἰών to render various Hebrew words, among which עוֹלָם and עַד are the most eminent ones. While αἰών implies always the conception of "space of time", "period", עוֹלָם means primarily only the hidden, remote time of the past or future ("long duration", "antiquity", "futurity", Brown-Driver-Briggs): "in the days of old", יְמֵי עוֹלָם (ἡμέραι τοῦ αἰῶνος ,LXX). Only in later times did עוֹלָם begin to mean "eternity" in its proper sense. The conception of "period" belongs properly to עַד, which is a poetic expression meaning unlimited time. The Septuagint uses various formulas such as ἀπὸ (τοῦ) αἰῶνος, πρὸ (τοῦ) αἰῶνος, εἰς (τὸν) αἰῶνα, etc. to render מֵעוֹלָם, לְעוֹלָם, לָעַד. Also the double use of αἰών in these formulas belongs to the

---

(1) The reading of ℵ B al f.

terminology of the Septuagint, e.g. εἰς (τὸν) αἰῶνα (τοῦ) αἰώνος for עוֹלָם וָעֶד (Ps 45,7, cf. Heb 1,8). The plurastic use of αἰών in the "Eternity-formula" belongs also to the usage of the Septuagint: πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων for קֶדֶם (Ps 55,20); εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας for עוֹלָמִים (2 Chron 6,2).

2. The eternity of God

Αἰών acquired the full meaning of "Eternity" when the term was used in connection with God, thus: the eternal God: ὁ αἰώνιος θεός, Rom 16,26.

This usage is already seen in the Septuagint, e.g. Gen 21, 33: אֵל עוֹלָם : θεὸς αἰώνιος, LXX: the everlasting God, R.S.V.; Is 26,4: יְהוָה צוּר עוֹלָמִים : ὁ θεὸς ὁ κράτας ὁ αἰώνιος, LXX: The Lord ... an everlasting rock, R.S.V.; Is 40,28: אֱלֹהֵי עוֹלָם : θεὸς αἰώνιος : the everlasting God, R.S.V.

This meaning of עוֹלָם is further explicated by the formula: וּמֵעוֹלָם עַד־עוֹלָם אַתָּה אֵל : ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος σὺ εἶ : from everlasting to everlasting thou art God (Ps 90, 2, R.S.V.). Before he formed the earth and the world, he was God (Ps 90,2). And when the heavens and the earth perish, God does endure (Ps 102,26ff.). Thus the eternity of God and the limited duration of the world are contrasted.

In the New Testament this usage of "the eternity" of God is retained. In so far as the New Testament transfers the eternity of God upon Christ the term receives a wider meaning. This can be seen in the following passages.

Heb 1,10ff.: the eternal, preexistent Son.

Heb 13,8: Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐχθὲς καὶ σήμερον ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Rev 1,17: ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος καὶ ὁ ζῶν, ... καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶν εἰμι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ....

The eternity of God is also contrasted to the limited duration of the world, as it is in the Old Testament, e.g.:

1 Cor 2,6: ἣν (sc. Θεοῦ σοφίαν) προώρισεν ὁ Θεὸς πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων--

Col 1,26: τὸ μυστήριον τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων ....

Eph 3,9: ἡ οἰκονομία τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ ἀποκεκρυμμένου ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων ἐν τῷ Θεῷ .....

III. αἰών in the meaning of "age".

1. αἰών as "age"; the end of the age.

In its pluralistic form αἰών means a long, but limited space of time. Hence αἰών gets its special meaning of "the duration of the world", "the time of the world" (age), viz. the time between the creation and the end. Thus in Biblical terminology αἰών is used to express two conceptions of paradoxical meaning: "the eternity" of God and "the time" of the world.

In the New Testament αἰών in the sense of "age" is used in the expression: συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος : the close of the age, R.S.V. (Mt 13,39.40.49; 24,3: 28,20). In this usage the term is understood in the eschatological context as the more adequate expression than such words as ἡμέραι , χρόνοι , καιροί , ἔτη .

2. αἰών as "world"

The meaning of "age", "duration of the world" can move into that of the "world". Thus the term approaches the meaning of κόσμος. In Mk 4,19 (Mt 13,22) μέριμναι τοῦ αἰῶνος is to be understood as "the cares of the world" (R.S.V.). Paul used the expressions σοφία τοῦ κόσμου, σοφία τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου and σοφία τοῦ κόσμου τούτου (1 Cor 1,20; 2,6;3,19) synonymously. To συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος as the expression of "the end of the world" corresponds καταβολὴ κόσμου as the expression of "the foundation of the world".

In Apocalypses αἰών is used in this meaning, e.g. 4 Esdra 3,9: inhabitantes seculum; 8,41: qui in seculo seminati sunt (quoted from Vulgata). This usage can also be seen in the Hellenistic αἰών-mysticism. Ditt Syll 1125,8: Αἰὼν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ φύσει θείαι μένων κόσμος (1).

Against this background the term αἰών in our passage becomes clear. αἰῶνες here is not a succession of time as it is in 1 Cor 10,11, but it is equivalent to τὰ πάντα (vv.2.3) and to the κόσμος (cf.11,3)(2). Thus κληρονόμος πάντων and ἐποίησεν τοὺς αἰῶνας correspond to each other. Or the term may, as Kaesemann says, mean "die uebereinander gelagerten Schichten des Weltgefueges"(3).

---

(1) Indirect quotation from ThWB, I,p.204,note 20. On αἰών cf. Liddell-Scott.I,p.45; ThWB.I,pp.197-208; Walter Bauer, loc.
(2) Cf.O.Cullmann, Christus und die Zeit, 2 ed.,1948,p.55: "Wenn es im Hebr heisst, Gott 'habe die Aionen geschaffen', so heisst dies hier nicht, dass die 'Zeit' geschaffen sei, sondern es liegt der raeumliche Gebrauch des Wortes αἰών vor, der ja auch sonst bezeugt ist .. Es ist hier gleichbedeutend mit κόσμος." Cf.also R.Bultmann, Theologie des Neuen Testaments, 1953,p.252.
(3) E.Kaesemann, op.cit.,p.61. Cf.Ginza,pp.46,19;48,19.

This usage suggests that the background of this passage is perhaps apocalyptic-Hellenistic and Gnostic.

καί suggests, as J.Moffatt comments, "the correspondence between this and the preceding statements: what the Son was to possess was what he had been instrumental in making."(1).

As to the use of δι' οὗ we shall examine it by a comparison with Philo's usage. Beside 1,2 we have another use of δι' οὗ in the Epistle: δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα καὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα (2,10). This time the subject is God (2). Now, with regard to this use of δι' οὗ (sc. θεοῦ) τὰ πάντα, Philo would object. "Because", he ways, "God is the cause not the instrument, and that which comes into being is brought into being <u>through</u> an instrument, but <u>by</u> a cause." (3). The cause of this universe "is God, by whom (ὑφ' οὗ) it has come into being, its material (ὕλη) the four elements, from which (ἐξ ὧν) it was compounded, its instrument (ὄργανον) the word of God, through which (δι' οὗ) it was framed, and the final cause of the building is the goodness (ἡ ἀγαθότης) of the architect."(4). Whereas, as Philo would see it, the phrase here (2,10) makes God instrument. This could not be allowed. Thus Philo would not have used δι' οὗ referring to God in His creation, but only referring to Logos (Son) as in 1,2. Consequently, from

---

(1) J.Moffatt, op.cit.p.5. As to καί in the text ℵ A DEFG have it, while p^{46} omits it.
(2) Cf.Rom 11,36; 1 Cor 8,6; Col 1,16.
(3) Cher. 35,125: ὅτι ὁ θεὸς αἴτιον, οὐκ ὄργανον, τὸ δὲ γινόμενον δι' ὀργάνου μὲν ὑπὸ δὲ αἰτίου πάντως γίνεται.
(4) Ibid.,35,127.

the Philonic standpoint, our present passage (1,2) may not mean that God created the world by Logos as the mediator, but through Logos as an instrument.

Then what does Philo mean with Logos as an instrument of creation? In order to answer this question we shall refer to H.A. Wolfson's presentation on the topic, which runs in outline as follows (1). According to Philo, to bring anything into being needs four causes: "that by which" (τὸ ὑφ' οὗ), "that from which" (τὸ ἐξ οὗ), "that through which" (τὸ δι' οὗ) and "that for which" (τὸ δι' ὃ) (2).

Except the third term used here these causes correspond exactly to the Aristotelian terminology (3). The first is the efficient cause, the second the material and the fourth the final. In his description of the formal cause, however, Philo departs from the vocabulary used by Aristotle when he enumerates the four causes. Instead of the term "form" used by Aristotle, he uses the term instrument. And instead of the expression "that from which", which is used by Aristotle as a description of both the material and the

---

(1) H.A.Wolfson, Philo,I,1948,pp.261ff.
(2) Cher. 35,125-6.
(3) Philo: τὸ ὑφ' οὗ (τὸ αἴτιον)
τὸ ἐξ οὗ (ἡ ὕλη)
τὸ δι' οὗ (τὸ ὄργανον, τὸ ἐργαλεῖον)
τὸ δι' ὃ (ἡ αἰτία, ἡ ἀρετή)

Aristotle: τὸ ὑφ' οὗ (Met 985 a 25.27)
τὸ ἐξ οὗ (ἡ ὕλη Phy 194 b24; Met 1013 a 24)
τὸ ἐξ οὗ (τὸ εἶδος καὶ παράδειγμα Met 1013 a 27; τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι Phy 195 a 20-21)
τὸ διὰ τί (Analy Post 85 b27-35; τὸ ἀρετόν Met 983 a 33)

Cf. M.Dibelius, An die Kolosser, 3 ed., 1953,pp. 8f.

formal cause (1), he uses the "that through which". Now, since "that through which" is used also by Aristotle in the sense of instrument (2), Philo could have used it also as a description of form in the sense of instrument through which something is made (3). Consequently, "that through which" is used in the sense of a pattern in the mind, e.g. of an artist, when he moulds the clay into a statue. In the same way Philo's Logos is called instrument only in the sense that it is through the intelligible world as a pattern, with which the Logos is identical, that the visible world was created.

As we see it, Wolfson's presentation has one doubtful point: the Aristotelian use of "that through which" in the sense of instrument (4). Wolfson's documentation here is not convincing (5). Without taking long way around through Aristotle, however, we can document the proposition by Philo himself. In one passage Philo says as follows. "For the world has come into being, and assuredly it has done so under the hand of some cause; and the Word of Him who makes it is Himself the seal (σφραγίς), by which each thing that exists has received its shape (μεμόρφωται)"(6). This

---

(1) Phy. 195a 19; Metaph. 1013b 17; cf. Ross' comment on Metaph 1013b 17-23.
(2) Cf. H.A.Wolfson, op.cit.,p.265. The documentation of this important proposition (Phy. 256a 6) does not seem convincing.
(3) Cf. e.g. Migr Abr. 1,6.
(4) H.A.Wolfson,op.cit.,p.265.
(5) Phy. 256a 6. This passage does not support Wolfson's point.
(6) Fug. 12.

shows pretty clearly that Philo used the term Logos in the sense of pattern. And this use of the term does not deprive God of being directly the creator of the world (1). Consequently Philo would not have seen in our passage (1,2) the Son of God as an intermediary of the creation (2).

The author of our Epistle, however, has not such scruples about δι' οὗ. He uses it in 2,10 in the sense of "Urheber" (τὸ ὑφ' οὗ), while he does not hesitate to use it in another passage (1,2) in the sense of mediator, and not instrument as defined by Philo (3). But the most striking difference between the two is that, while Philo is trying to theorize the creation with the tools of Greek philosophy, our author does not concern with "how" of the creation. He simply asserts that through the Son God created the world.

The presentation here is not, like that of Philo, cosmological-metaphysical, but "religious". Though our author claims the functions assigned by Philo to the Logos at creation as the prerogatives of the Son, he shows himself independent of this Jewish philosopher of Alexandria. As J.Moffatt puts it, "This passing allusion to the function of Christ in relation to the universe probably

---

(1) Cf.Som. i,158,241.
(2) This leads us to the problem of "intermediaries", which requires an independent study. G.F.Moore and H.A.Wolfson are against the supposition of intermediaries. Cf. G.F.Moore, "Intermediaries in Jewish Theology", HThR. 1922; H.A.Wolfson, op. cit.,I,pp.282ff.
(3) Cf. Bl-Debr. 6 ed.,1931, § 213; ThWB. II,pp.64-68.

originated, as in the case of Paul, in the religious conception of redemption. From the redeeming function of Christ which extended to all men, it was natural to infer His agency in relation to creation as part of his pre-existence .... The early Christian, who believed in the lordship of Christ over the world, felt .... that the end must be implicit in the beginning, that the aim and principle of the world must be essentially Christian."(1).

Thus the author is presenting here his confession of Christ as the saviour by means of Hellenistic-Jewish-Gnostic expression of Logos-αἰών speculations.

IV

ὃς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης
καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ
φέρων τε τὰ πάντα τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ,
καθαρισμὸν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ποιησάμενος
ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς (v.3).

The use of a relative pronoun ὅς in this verse reminds us of the same construction in the following Christological passages.

Col 1,15: ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου ----
1,18: ὅς ἐστιν ἀρχη, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν ----

---

(1) J.Moffatt, op.cit.,pp. 5f.

Phil 2,6: ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων ----

1 Tim 3,16: ὃς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί --- (1).

All four members of verse 3 come under this relative pronoun, in which fact E.Lohmeyer sees "den typischen orientalischen Gebetsstil" (2). Further, as O. Michel suggests, in the present participles (ὤν, φέρων, ποιησάμενος) used here a confessional style is expressed (3). A similar use can be seen in Phil 2,6 (ὃς --- ὑπάρχων); Jn 1,18 (ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρός). The Christology in this verse, moreover, is completed in itself. It starts from God's eternity (δόξα, ὑπόστασις) and comes back again to God (ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης). Lastly, the form of Christology here shows a strong affinity with that of Phil 2,6-11 and Col 1,15ff. Taking these facts into account, we are strongly inclined to see in verse 3 a Christology of a liturgical style (4).

3. He is the effulgence of the glory of God: ὃς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης ---- αὐτοῦ

The author is here describing the unique relationship of Christ with God, using the terms which were applied to the pre-existent Wisdom or Logos.

---

(1) ὁ ..... 061 D* lat
θεός ..... P Ψ ℜ pl
ὁ θεός 69
ὅς ..... 𝔎 G

(2) E.Lohmeyer, Der Brief an die Kolosser, Meyer's Commentary, 9ed.,1953,p.42.

(3) O.Michel, op.cit.,p.40,note 1.

(4) Cf. ibid.,pp.38 f.

The Greek δόξα means originally expectation (1), and then notion, opinion or judgement, whether it is well grounded or not (2). It is a term which expresses our functions of thinking accompanied by different grades of subjective certainty.

When the Septuagint reproduced כָּבוֹד with δόξα, the term acquired an entirely different meaning. כָּבוֹד refers to the appearance of God, who Himself is invisible. When He reveals Himself, e.g. in some meteorological phenomenon (cf. e.g. Ex 19, 9ff.; 20,18ff., etc.), then it is called כְּבוֹד יְהוָה. Thus כָּבוֹד is "der in die Augen fallende Strahlglanz, der vom Jahve ausgeht" (3). Or it is the indication or sign of the glory, through which Jahve reveals His presence to His people. Ezekiel's description of כָּבוֹד (Ezek 1) belongs to this latter understanding. According to W.Eichrodt, when Ezekiel saw "the likeness of a throne, in appearance like saphire; and seated above the likeness of a throne was a likeness as it were of a human form" (Ezek 1,26), it is to be understood rather as a reflection of the heavenly glory of Jahve than the glory itself. Here, Eichrodt says, כָּבוֹד appears to Ezekiél as " ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ " (Heb 1,3), which is to be distinguished from the eternal

---

(1) οὐδ' ἀπὸ δόξης (not otherwise than one expects), Hom Il.10, 324.
παρὰ δόξαν, ἢ ὡς κατεδόκεε, Hdt.I,79.
ἐν δόξᾳ θέμενος εὐχος (hoping for ..), Pind.,ed.O.Schroeder 10(11), 63.
(2) βροτῶν δόξαν, Parm.1,30. κατά γε τὴν ἐμὴν δόξαν, Plat Gorg. 472 e.
(3) W.Eichrodt, Theologie des A.T., 3 ed., 1950, II,p.9.

"Urgestalt"(1). In this case כָּבוֹד is εἰκών (Abglanz, Abbild) of the original glory. Thus through the Septuagint the secular Greek δόξα acquired a Biblical meaning: God's glorious appearance in visible phenomena.

The New Testament follows the Septuagint in the use of δόξα. Here it means also honor, might and visible glory of God, i.e. the essence of God. "The glory of the Lord shone around them, and they were filled with fear" (Lk 2,9). The usage in "δόξαν διδόναι τῷ Θεῷ "(Acts 12,23; Rom 4,20) is also the same as that of the Old Testament. As in the Old Testament, so in the New Testament "δόξαν διδόναι τῷ Θεῷ " does not mean to give God something that is apart from Himself, but rather to acknowledge that which belongs essentially to God. The same can be said with regard to Doxology (τῷ Θεῷ ἡ δόξα, Lk 2,14; 19,38; Rom 11,36; 16,27; Gal 1,5,etc.). When δόξα is associated with Christ, however, the New Testament goes a step further (Mk 13,26; 1 Cor 2,8). This use is particularly frequent in John. Furthermore, in the New Testament man shares in δόξα. "The Lord Jesus Christ, who will change our lowly body to be like his glorious body" (Phil 3,21; cf. Col 3,4,etc.).

The Hellenistic Gnostic usage of this term differs from that of the contemporary secular Greek but parallels to the Biblical idiom. In magic papyri δόξα means a power, which, e.g. is given to an amulet; a "lustre" of the sun or fire; a divine glory of

---

(1) Cf. W.Eichrodt, op.cit.,II,p.11,note 3.

the highest god (1). In Mandaeean literature the god of light is called "der erste Glanz" or "der Hoechste Glanz" (2). And his son is said to be made of this "Glanz" (3).

In Philo this use of δόξα can be found only once (Spec Leg.,i, 45f.). According to G.Kittel δόξα used in this Philonic passage has the meaning of divine "Lichtglanz", which Moses saw (Ex 33, 18ff.). But this use of the term is foreign to Philo, who uses the term some 250 times (opinio, or gloria referring to man) (4).

αὐτοῦ is almost unanimously referred to God by commentators.(5).

αὐγάζω, which is a verbal root of ἀπαύγασμα, was used since Homer. The following is a brief survey of the usage of this word.

1. To view in the clearest light, see distinctly, discern: Soph Phil. 217; τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν πρὸς κατόπτρου Philo Mechanicus, 2,156; Philo, Vit Mos. i,139.

The word is also used in Med., Hom Il,23,458; Hes op. 478; Phio Migr Abr. 189.

Pass., αὐγασθεῖσα , being mirrored in the smooth water, Soph Frag. 598,6; appear, Maximus Astrologus, ll.

---

(1) Cf.ThWB, II,p.255.
(2) Ginza, pp.252; 274, etc.
(3) Ibid., p.91.
(4) Cf. ThWB. II, 239; H.Leisegang, Indices ad Philonis Alex. opera.
(5) Orig Princ. N,2,8 renders "figura expressa substantiae Patris". Calvin, Epist. ad Hebr. ad loc.; F.Delitzsch, The Epistle to the Hebrews, Engl. transl. by T.L.Kingsbury, ad loc.; B.F.Westcott, op.cit., ad loc.; J.Moffatt, op.cit., ad loc.; H.Strathmann, Der Brief an die Hebraeer (Das N.T. Deutsch), ad loc.; T.H.Robinson, The Epistle to the Hebrews (Moffatt Comm.), ad loc.; C.Spicq, op.cit., II, ad loc.

2. Of the sun, illumine, τινά , Eur Hec. 673; Pass., Idem, Ba. 596.

Metaphor., enlighten, 2 Cor 4,4(1); set in a clear light, Philo Mechanicus, I,659.

3. Intr., appear bright or white, LXX Lev 13,25; shine, Papyri Graeca Magicae (C.Wesserley in Wiener Denkschrift XXXVI, 1888), 1,2558.

Hence comes ἀπαυγάζω . The word means 1. to flash forth, ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαρμῶν σέλας, Heliodor. 3,4; 2. in Med., to see from far, Callim Del. 125,181.

Lastly comes ἀπαύγασμα , which belongs to the later Greek. The word is used in two meanings, which are sometime hard to distinguish.

1. Radiance, effulgence, of light beaming from a luminous body. Sap 7,26: ἀπαύγασμα φωτὸς ἀϊδίου (syn. ἀπόρροια). Philo, Op Mund. 146: πᾶς ἄνθρωπος κατὰ μὲν τὴν διάνοιαν ᾠκείωται λόγῳ θείῳ, τῆς μακαρίας φύσεως ἐκμαγεῖον ἢ ἀπόσπασμα ἢ ἀπαύγασμα γεγονώς.

2. Reflection, Plut Fac Lun. 21; image, Philo, Plant. 50 (syn. εἰκών): (ὁ κόσμος) τὸ ἀριάσμα, οἷον ἀρίων ἀπαύγασμα, μίμημα ἀρχέτυπου, ἐπεὶ τὰ αἰσθήσει καλὰ τῶν νοήσει καλῶν εἰκόνες (2).

---

(1) Cf. H.Windisch(Meyer's commentary),H.Lietzmann (Handbuch zum N.T.) and A.Plummer (ICC) on the passage.
(2) F.H.Colson (Loeb) translates: "an outshining of sanctity".

We can read ἀπαύγασμα in our passage in either meaning: effulgence or reflection. However, as Westcott notes, "The Greek Fathers with unanimity have adopted the sense effulgence according to the ideas expressed in the Nicene Creed, Light of Light (φῶς ἐκ φωτός)."(1). Following the Greek Fathers G.Kittel also prefers the first meaning: Christ is the effulgence of God's δόξα, just as sunlight is the effulgence of the sun or light is the effulgence of a lamp (2). We will also take ἀπαύγασμα here in the meaning of effulgence, because of our understanding of the background of the passage.

---

(1) B.F.Westcott, op.cit.,p.11.
Origenes, In Jn., 32,18: ὅλης μὲν οὖν οἶμαι τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀπαύγασμα εἶναι τὸν υἱόν ---- φθάνειν μέντοι γε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπαυγάσματος τούτου τῆς ὅλης δόξης μερικὰ ἀπαυγάσματα ἐπὶ τὴν λοιπὴν λογικὴν κτίσιν.

Gregor Nyss.,De perfecta Christ.forma,Migne,Patr.Gr.,xlvi, p.265: δόξαν καὶ ὑπόστασιν ὠνόμασε τὸ ὑπερκείμενον παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ ----τὸ δὲ συναφές τε καὶ ἀδιάστατον τοῦ υἱοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα διερμηνεύων ---- ἀπαύγασμα δόξης καὶ χαρακτῆρα ὑποστάσεως προσαγορεύει ----, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τὴν ἀπαυγάζουσαν φύσιν νοήσας καὶ τὸ ἀπαύγασμα ταύτης πάντως κατενοήσε ----

Chrysostom,Hom.,ii,2: ἀπαύγασμα εἶπεν ---- ἵνα δείξῃ ὅτι κἀκεῖ (Jn 8,12) οὕτως εἴρηται· δῆλον δὲ ὡς φῶς ἐκ φωτός.

Theodoret ad loc.: τὸ ἀπαύγασμα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πυρός ἐστι καὶ σὺν τῷ πυρί ἐστι ---- ἀεὶ δὲ ἡ δόξα, ἀεὶ τοίνυν καὶ τὸ ἀπαύγασμα.

Oecumenius ad loc.: διὰ τοῦ 'ἀπαύγασμα' τὴν κατὰ φύσιν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς πρόοδον τοῦ υἱοῦ δηλοῖ· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὅλως οὐδαμοῦ κατὰ χάριν καὶ εἰς ποίησιν πρόεισιν ἀπαύγασμά τινος, οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς, οὐκ ἀφ' ἑτέρου τινός, ἀφ' οὗ πέφυκεν ἀπαύγασμα προιέναι.

(2) ThWB.I,p.505.

E.R. Goodenough has demonstrated that Philo conceived of God in terms of light-symbolism: God (ὁ θεός) is a Light which is discerned by the Light-Ray that He shoots forth, as we see in the sun, itself a light, by means of the rays that reach us, φωτὶ φῶς ; this Light-Ray or Light-Stream (θεός) is the Logos or Sophia (1). As we have seen above, light-symbolism is also used in Wisdom literature and Gnosis. With regard to our passage, what our author is trying to do is to visualize the nature of the Son in relationship to God by means of this light-symbolism. The Son is a light streaming forth from God as the light (2). In this attempt of exposing the divine nature of the Son, the author has shown himself standing in midst of a vast stream of the religious thoughts of his time.(3) At the same time, however, he exposed himself to a possibility of being misunderstood as if he were engaging here in cosmological-metaphysical speculations about Christ, leaving behind him the solid ground of the historical Jesus.

---

(1) E.R.Goodenough, By Light, Light,1935,pp.7f.,11ff., etc.
As Goodenough quots on the title page of his work, the objective of Philo can well be summarized in the following clause: ἀλήθειαν δὲ μετίασιν οἱ τὸν θεὸν θεῷ φαντασιωθέντες,φωτὶ φῶς (Praem Poen. 46).
On light-symbolism, cf.e.g. the following passages: Ebr.44f.; Op Mund.31,54,71;Cher.96f.;Deus Imm. 3,77-81; Quaest in Ex.ii,67.
(2) Cf. 1 Clem 36,2.
(3) Cf.F.Delitzsch, The Epistle to the Hebrews, pp.47ff.

4. And bears the very stamp of his nature: καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ.

In the foregoing phrase God's nature was presented as δόξα, i.e. "Licht-Glanz", and the nature of the Son in relationsip to God was described as the effulgence of the glory of God. In the present phrase the same relationship is described by terms of a stamp.

Here a philosophical term ὑπόστασις is used to represent God's being or essence, which corresponds to δόξα in the foregoing phrase. According to Liddel-Scott the usage of the term is as follows (1).

A. As an act:

1. Standing under, supporting, ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ μηροῦ καὶ ὁ αὐχὴν τοῦ ἄρθρου ---- ὑπὸ συχνῷ μέρει τοῦ ἰσχίου τὴν ὑπόστασιν ποιέηται, Hippocr Art.55; ἐνεπάγην εἰς ἰλὺν βυθοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπόστασις, LXX Ps 68,3.

2. Resistance, τοῦ κύματος, Aristot Meteor.368b 12.

3. Lying in ambush, Soph Frag.719.

B. As a thing:

I.1. In liquids, that which settles at the bottom, sediment, Hippocr Steril.242; Aristot Hist An.551b 29; Meteor.382b 14,etc.; esp. of sediment in the urine, Hippocr Coac.146,389; an accumulation

---

(1) Liddell-Scott,II,p.1895. Cf. Walter Bauer,p.1538.

of pus, abscess, Hippocr Art.40.

2. νέφους ὑποστάσεις, cloud-cumuli, Diod Sic.1,38.

3. A kind of jelly or thick soup, in pl., Menand.462,10.

4. Metaph. of time, duration, ἡ στιγμιαία τῶν καιρῶν ὑπόστασις, Gal.19,187; μνήσθητι τίς μου ἡ ὑπόστασις, remember how short my time is, LXX Ps 88,48.

5. Coming into existence, origin, ἡ ὑπόστασίς μου ἐν τοῖς κατωτάτω τῆς γῆς, LXX Ps 138,15; ἀκμὴ οὐδὲ ἔχει γενέσεως ὑπόστασιν καθ' ἑαυτήν, has no power of originating by itself, Hermog Id.1,10.

II.1. Foundation, or substance of a temple, etc., LXX Nahum 2,7; ὑποστάσεις ἐπάλξεων, lower part of a crenellated wall, Ph Bel. 84,9.

2. Metaph. of a narrative, speech, or poem, groundwork, subject matter, argument, Polyb.4,2,1.

3. Plan, purpose, Ibid.16,32; κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπόστασιν, Ibid.1,28.

4. Confidence, courage, resolution, steadiness, of soldiers, Polyb.4,50;10,6;55,2; hope, LXX Ruth 1,12; ἀπώλετο ἡ ὑπόστασις αὐτῆς, LXX Ez 19,5; ἡ ὑπόστασις τῆς καυχήσεως, 2 Cor 11, 17; Heb 11,1.

5. Undertaking, promise, οἱ ὑπογεγραμμένοι γεωργοὶ ἐπέδωκαν ἡμῖν ὑπόστασιν, P Eleph.15,3.

III.1. Substantial nature, substance, δύσσχιστα, τῷ κολλώδη τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχειν, woods hard to cleave, because of their resinous substance, Theophr.CP. 5,16,4.

2. Substance, actual existence, reality, opp. semblance, φαντασίαν μὲν ἔχειν πλούτου, ὑπόστασιν δὲ μή , Artem. 3,14; τῶν ἐν ἀέρι φαντασμάτων τὰ μὲν ἐστι κατ' ἔμφασιν, τὰ δὲ καθ' ὑπόστασιν(substantial, actual), Arist Mund. 395a 30. So ὑποστάσεις are the substances of which the reflection (οἱ κατοπτρικαὶ ἐμφάσεις) appear in the mirror, Placit. 4,14.

3. Real nature, essence, Heb 1,3.

B.F.Westcott has commented on the patristic usage of the term, saying as follows.

"When this meaning of 'essence' was applied to the Divine Being two distinct usages arose in the course of debate. If men looked at the Holy Trinity under the aspect of the one Godhead there was only one ὑπόστασις, one divine essence. If, on the otherhand, they looked at each Person in the Holy Trinity, then that by which each Person is what he is, His ὑπόστασις , was necessarily regarded as distinct, and there were three ὑποστάσεις. In the first case ὑπόστασις as applied to the one Godhead was treated as equivalent to οὐσία : in the other case it was treated as equivalent to πρόσωπον." (1).

The second use of the word, viz. ὑπόστασις in the sense of "person" is much later than the apostolic age. This use is inappropriate in the context of our passage. The Son is not χαρακτήρ of the "Person of God", but he is χαρακτήρ of the "essence" of God.

---

(1) B.F.Westcott, op.cit.,p.13.

χαρακτήρ (χαράσσω, make pointed, sharpen, scratch, engrave) means originally an engraver; one who mints coins. Then it came to mean engraving tool, a stamp, die. Then mark engraved, impress, stamp on coins and seals (ἀργύρου λαμπρὸς χαρακτήρ, Eur El. 559). Then, distinctive mark or token impressed on a person or thing, by which it is known from others, characteristic, character (χαρακτὴρ γλώσσης, of a particular dialect, Hdt. I,57,142); type or character of a thing or person, rarely of an individual nature (ἄνδρος χαρακτὴρ ἐκλόγου γνωρίζεται, Menand. 72). Lastly comes the meaning of an exact reproduction. A Greek inscription of the first century before Christ uses the word in this last sense: χαρακτὴρ μορφῆς ἐμῆς (my statue) (1).

χαρακτήρ in our passage means the "stamp" or "exact reproduction" of God's essence. This usage reminds us at once of the Pauline conception of εἰκών in Col 1,15 (cf.2 Cor 4,4). Hermann Kleinknecht says: According to Greek-Hellenistic thinking an image (εἰκών) is not only a functional representation of a thing which man becomes conscious of but an image can also mean an "effulgence", "coming into appearance" (Ausstrahlung, ein Sichtbar- und Offenbarwerden) of an essence. It participates in the object. An image, therefore, participates in reality. It is reality itself, not an unsuccessful imitation of a thing, but "Inerscheinungtreten des Wesen einer Sache". The εἰκών in Col 1,15

---

(1) Quoted from Moult-Mill.,p.683. Cf. also Liddell-Scott on the word.

is in harmony with this Greek-Hellenistic understanding of the term (1). εἰκών means an "exact reproduction" or "coming into appearance" of the essence of a thing, just as χαρακτήρ does. The Son of God as χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ Θεοῦ) and Pauline presentation of Christ as εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου seem to be interchangeable (2). This proposition can be illustrated by the usage of the terms in Philo.

1. Plant. 18: "Our great Moses likened the fashion of the reasonable soul to no created thing, but averred it to a genuine coinage (δόκιμον νόμισμα) of that dread Spirit, the Divine and Invisible one, signed and impressed by the seal of God (σημειωθὲν καὶ τυπωθὲν σφραγῖδι Θεοῦ), the stamp of which is the Eternal Word (ἧς ὁ χαρακτήρ ἐστιν ὁ ἀίδιος λόγος)."

2. Det Pot Ins. 83: ".... to the faculty which streams forth from the fountain of reason breath (τὸ πνεῦμα)has been assigned; not moving air, but, as it were, an impression stamped by the divine power (τύπον τινὰ καὶ χαρακτῆρα Θείας δυνάμεως) to which Moses gives the appropriate title of 'image' (ἣν ὀνόματι κυρίῳ Μωυσῆς εἰκόνα καλεῖ), thus indicating that God is the Archetype of rational existence, while man is a copy and likeness (μίμημα δὲ καὶ ἀπεικόνισμα ἄνθρωπος)."

3. Rer Div Her.230f.: "He gives the name of birds to the two words or forms of reason, both of which are winged and of a soaring nature. One is the archetypal reason above us, the other the copy (μίμημα) of it which we possess. Moses calls the first the 'image of God' (εἰκόνα Θεοῦ), the second the cast of that image (τῆς εἰκόνος ἐκμαγεῖον) ...."

4. Op Mund. 25: "If the whole creation, this entire world perceived by our senses is a copy of the Divine image (μίμημα Θείας εἰκόνος), it is manifest that the archetypal seal(ἡ ἀρχέτυπος σφραγὶς) also, which we aver to be the world descried by the mind, would be the very Word of God."

---

(1) ThWB.II,p.386. Cf.E.Lohmeyer, Der Brief an die Kolosser, Meyer's Commentary, 9ed.,1953,pp.54f.; on εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ cf.1 Cor 11,7; 2 Cor 4,4; in LXX, Gen 1,27;5,1.3; Ps 72,20;Sap 2,23; 7,26; Sir 17,3.

(2) Cf.R.Bultmann, Theologie des N.T.1953,p.131. We can not agree with B.F.Westcott in his distinction between εἰκών and χαρακτήρ, op.cit.,pp.12f.

5. Leg All.iii,96: "God's shadow is His word (σκιὰ θεοῦ δὲ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐστιν), which he made use of like an instrument, and so made the world. But this shadow, and what we may describe as the representation (τὰ ἀπεικόνισμα), is the archetype for further creations. For just as God is Pattern of the Image (παράδειγμα τῆς εἰκόνος), to which the title of Shadow has just been given, even so the Image becomes the pattern of other beings, as the prophet made clear at the very outset of the Law-giving by saying, 'And God made the man after the image of God', implying that the Image had been made such as representing God, but that the man was made after the Image when it had acquired the force of a pattern." (1).

As is evident from the above observation, our phrase shares with Col 1,15ff. a common background of Greek-hellenistic εἰκών-conception. According to Bultmann, the Sonship of Christ developed here belongs to the third type of the form of the Son of God. The divine Sonship of this type is along the same line as the divinity of the Son in the Gnostic myth. In this myth not only the soteriological- but also cosmological significance belong to the divine Sonship (2).

---

(1) Quotations from Philo are from the Loeb Classical Library's "Philo".

(2) Cf.R.Bultmann, Theologie des N.T., pp.131f. The first type of Christ's divine Sonship is presented in the synoptic Gospels, in so far as they describe Jesus as the Son of God, as revealing his divine ἐξουσία through his wonders. According to the second type, Jesus Christ is the incarnate preexistent Son (der Mensch gewordene praeexistente Gottessohn), which type is preserved in the pre-Pauline Christ-hymn in Phil 2,6-11 (Ibid.,pp.129-30).
Cf. also M.Dibelius, An die Kolosser, 3ed., 1953,pp.12 ff.; O.Cullmann, Christus und die Zeit, 2 ed., 1948, pp.94,116,157.

V

5. Upholding the universe by his word of power: φέρων τε τὰ πάντα τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ (1).

This phrase presupposes God's creation of the world by His Son (1,2;cf.11,3) and refers to the upholding of this created world.

In the Old Testament God is conceived to be upholding the world in two ways. Since the created world is perpetually threatened by the sea, which is the deposit of the rain-flood, God protects the world fighting against the sea. He "shuts up the sea with doors and said 'Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further..'"(2). God also upholds the world by giving to it the order of the seasons and days, etc. "The day is thine, the night also is thine; thou hast prepared the light and the sun" (Ps 74, 16) (3).

---

(1) φέρων :
1) φανερῶν .... B* et3
2) φέρων .... p46 ℵ ℜ DEFG
The second reading is supported by most MSS, while the first reading is supported by B(original and 3rd reading) alone. The second reading can explain the first, as φανερῶν seems to be an amendment to smooth away the difficulties involved in the second reading: the Son upholding the universe by his word. But the first reading can not explain the second. Hence the second reading seems to be more probable.

τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ:
1) αὐτοῦ .... ℵ ℜ DEFG
2) om. .... p46 M 424²
The αὐτοῦ refers to the Son, not as in 11,3 to God. Hence perhaps p46 M 424² omit it. Thus the first reading can explain the second reading, while the second can not explain the first. Consequently the first reading seems to be more probable.
(2) Job 38, 8-11; Cf.Gen 8,1-2; Ps 46,1-3, etc.; L.Koeler, Theologie des A.T.,2 ed., 1947,p.72.
(3) Cf.Ps 136,8 and etc.; also L.Koeler, op.cit.,pp.74-5.

This idea of upholding the world had been applied by Philo to the Logos. The Logos is the "bond of all existence, and holds and knits together all the parts (καὶ συνέχει τὰ μέρη πάντα καὶ σφίγγει), preventing them from being dissolved and separated" (1). In this context, however, Philo does not use " φέρω " in the same sense, but rather in the sense of "to bring into existence"(2).

This idea can further be seen in rabbinical writings (3). According to Kaesemann, φέρειν is also a terminus technicus of the Hellenistic "Aion-theology", where it means to uphold or support (the world) (4).

If we follow the Philonic use of φέρειν , our passage will read: "The Son (Logos) brings the world into existence by the word of his power", as Gregory of Nyssa interpreted it (5). As Moffatt says, this interpretation would give a better sense to "word of power" as the fiat of creative authority (6). For the following reasons, however, we will read the term in the sense of

---

(1) Fug.112. Cf. Migr Abr.6; Plant.8.
(2) Rer Div Her. 36: ὁ τὰ μὴ ὄντα φέρων καὶ τὰ πάντα γεννῶν(Thou "who givest being to what is not and generatest all things").
Cf. Mut Nom.192,256.
(3) Str-B. III, p.673.
(4) E.Kaesemann,op.cit.,p.63; H.Schlier, Christus und die Kirche im Epheserbrief, 1930,p.29.
(5) MPG xlvi,p.265: τὰ σύμπαντα τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ φέρει ὁ λόγος ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς γένεσιν (indirect quotation from B.F.Westcott,op.cit.,p.14); cf. J.Moffatt, op.cit.,p.8.
(6) J.Moffatt, ibid.

"upholding". Firstly, the author uses ποιεῖν or καταρτίζειν to express "creation", "making"(1), but he never uses φέρειν in this sense. The term is used rather in the sense of "to advance"(pass.), "to be established"(pass.), "to be anounced"(J. Moffatt on 9,16), or "to bear" something (2). Secondly, it is highly improbable that the author would repeat the same idea, having described God's creation of the world in the foregoing verse. Lastly, even if we admit that verse 3 is not author's own composition, but an already fixed formula taken up here and fitted into the context, it is improbable that the author would have put down this formula without any modification, if φέρειν were taken to imply creation.

ῥήμα τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ is the hebraic use of genitive as a substitute for the adjective (3). With regard to ῥήμα Michel's exposition seems improbable. He says as follows:

"Damit (i.e. dem Worte Christi) ist zunaechst an die biblische Verkuendigung gedacht, die vom geschichtlichen und erhoeten Herrn ausgeht (2,3), denn aber auch an die prophetische Weissagung des Alten und die apostolische Predigt des Neuen Bundes, die ebenfalls als Wort des Herrn gelten koennen (10,5ff.). Diese Verkuendigung regiert und traegt die Welt trotz aller Verfolgung von aussen und trotz aller Schwaeche und Anfechtungen von innen." (4).

Judging from its historical background and the context of this passage ῥήμα is more likely the word of creation and λόγος of revelation (2,2;4,12) than the historical words of prophets,

---

(1) Cf. 1,2;3,2;10,5;11,3.
(2) Cf. 6,1;9,16;12,20;13,1.
(3) Cf.Bl-Debr.6 ed.,1931, §165.
(4) O.Michel,op.cit.,pp.41f. Cf.C.Spicq,op.cit.,II,p.10.

Christ and the Apostles (1). Thus ῥήμα τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ here may read: "His (of the Son) powerful word", i.e. the Son himself as the word of God (2). ῥήμα here is virtually the Logos in the prologue of the Fourth Gospel (3). As O.Cullmann puts it, "Das gleiche Wort Gottes, das sich als Schoepfungshandeln kundtut und am Ende in der Neuschoepfung kundtun wird, ist in Jesus Christus 'Fleisch geworden' (Jn 1,14)"(4).

Hence the phrase will read: "upholding the universe by his powerful word." The Son of God through whom the world was made upholds it as it goes on and keeps it from collapsing by his powerful word (5). B.F.Westcott says here: "As the world was called into being by an utterance (ῥήμα) of God, so it is sustained by a like expression of the divine will."(6).

---

(1) Cf.H.Windisch,op.cit.,p.13; E.Kaesemann,op.cit.,p.63;C.Spicq, op.cit.,II,p.10.
(2) Cf.Rom 10,17: ἡ δὲ ἀκοὴ διὰ ῥήματος Χριστοῦ.
(3) H.Windisch says, "Da Hebr den Ausdruck λόγος selbst nicht uebernimmt, kann er dem Sohn ein ῥήμα zuweisen, wenngleich tatsaechlich das dem λόγος wie dem himmlischen Sohn zugrundeliegende Wesen weiter nichts als die Hypostasierung diese in Gen 1 sich bestaetigenden goettlichen 'Wortes' ist Hermas Vis. I,3,4." (Ibid.,p.13).
(4) O.Cullmann,Christus und die Zeit, 2 ed.1948,p.19.
(5) Cf.Col 1,17: αὐτός ἐστιν πρὸ πάντων καὶ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκεν. M.Dibelius finds in this passage of Colossians a Gnostic trend of thought. He says, "Vielleicht liegt hier auch auf seiten des Pls ein Gedanke vor, den wir als 'gnostisch' bezeichnen: wenn Christus das All wirklich in sich enthaelt, dann ist die gnostische Vorstellung vom All als einem grossen Menschenwesen angenommen." (An die Kolosser,3 ed.,1953,p.14).
O.Cullmann comments on the same passage as follows: "So wird erst im Urchristentum die Schoepfung selbst ganz im Lichte der Erloesung von der Suende durch Jesus Christus gesehen. Darum ist das All schon in Christus gegruendet (Kol 1,16f.), weil durch sein Blut dieses All versoehnt werden wird (Kol 1,20)." (Ibid.,p.79).
(6) B.F.Westcott,op.cit.,p.14.

6. When he had made purification for sins: καθαρισμὸν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ποιησάμενος(1).

Having described the preexistent eternal Son with regard to his being (ὤν) and his relationship to the created world (φέρων) the author takes up here a new phase of the Son: his work of purification for sins, which will be further discussed in the main part of the Epistle (7,1-10,18). As Moffatt puts it, "With καθαρισμὸν ....ὑψηλοῖς the writer at last touches what is for him the central truth about the Son; it is not the teaching of Jesus that interests him, but what Jesus die for sin by his sacrifice and exaltation. From this conception the main argument of the epistle flows."(2).

The eternal Son partakes of man's nature that through death

---

(1) καθαρισμόν :
1) δι'αὐτοῦ καθαρισμόν .... p^{46} D*
2) δι' ἑαυτοῦ καθ. .... 𝔎 pm sy
3) om. .... 𝔍 DEFG
The first and the second readings seem to be insertion to render the meaning of this passage more conspicuous by adding δι' αὐτοῦ or δι' ἑαυτοῦ , viz. Christ has made the purification of sins by himself. Both Koine and Western texts show here an inclination to read the passage in fuller-liturgical sense. Hence the third reading seems to be more probable.

τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν :
1) ἡμῶν .... 𝔎 sy
2) om. .... p^{46} 𝔍 DEFG
The first reading seems to be rounding up the passage by adding ἡμῶν to ἁμαρτιῶν (Having made purification for our sins). Koine texts show here their "Church centered" inclination in adding ἡμῶν to ἁμαρτίαι : it is our sins for which the Son made the purification. Hence the second reading seems more probable.
(2) J.Moffatt,op.cit.,p.8.

he might destroy the power of death and deliver men from the bondage of the devil; that he might make expiation (ἱλάσκεσθαι) for the sins of the people, becoming himself a high-priest (2, 14ff.). The incarnation is further described as the humiliation of the Son to demonstrate his obedience to his Father's will (5,5ff.)(1). Presupposing these further developments our phrase says simply: καθαρισμὸν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ποιησάμενος.

καθαρισμός is the later form for καθαρμός (1.cleansing, purification, from guilt, Soph Oed Tyr.1228; 2.purificatory offering, expiation, Hdt.7,197 etc.). In the Septuagint the term is used for regaining the cultic purity, especially as the translation of טָהֳרָה (Lev 15,13), כִּפֻּרִים (expiatio,Ex 29,36) and חַטָּאת (Prov 14,9). In Ex 30,10 the yearly expiatio of the atonement day is described as the purification from sins by means of blood. Philo uses the term in its various form: καθαίρειν , καθαίρεσις , καθαρμός , καθαρός , καθάρσια (2). In the New Testament καθαρισμός is used either in the sense of ritual cleansing, e.g. Mk 1,44(Lk 5,14); Lk 2,22, or in the sense of moral-religious purification. The term in the latter use is twofold: the purification through baptism (Eph 5,26; 2 Pet 1,9), and the purification through the death of Jesus (Heb 1,3) (3).

---

(1) Cf.Phil 2,7-8.
(2) Det Pot Ins. 170: ὁ πότε γοῦν τὴν γῆν ὕδατι καθαίρειν ὁ δημιουργὸς διενοήθη καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τῶν ἀμυθήτων ἀδικημάτων κάθαρσιν λαβεῖν ---
Cf.H.Leisegang, Indices ad Philonis opera.
(3) On καθαρισμός cf.Liddell-Scott; ThWB.III,p.433.

As Westcott comments, the use of the middle (ποιησάμενος) suggests the thought that Christ himself in his own person made the purification; he did not make it as something different from himself (1).

Grammatically τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν can mean: 1) the purgation of sins, as καθαρίζειν may be used of the removal of a disease (Mt 8,3) or 2) purification from sins. The use of the term in 2 Pet 1,9 and of καθαρίζειν in Heb 9,14; 9,22 supports us to read τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν in the latter sense (2).

7. He sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high: ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς.

The term ἡ δεξιά (the right hand of God) (3) is used as a symbol of the divine power. The term in this sense is used very often, especially in Psalms (4). God's power is combined with His righteousness: "Thy right hand is full of righteousness" (δικαιοσύνης πλήρης ἡ δεξιά σου .LXX Ps 47,11). God also created the world with His right hand (Jes 48,13). As a symbol of God's power the term is used also in non-Biblical literature (Josephus, magic papyri). The term, then, gets special meaning, as it implies "favourable", "good-fortune-bringing", and "honourable". In the divination by birds in Greek, the right hand

---

(1) Cf.B.F.Westcott,op.cit.,p.15.
(2) Cf.Walter Bauer,pp.701-3.
(3) Cf.Bl-Debr. § 241,6.
(4) Cf.LXX Ps 16,7; 59,7; 62,9; 117,16,etc.

was side of good fortune. Josephus called good fortune δεξιὰ τύχη (Bell.1,430). Lastly, δεξιά and δεξιαί mean "pledge" or "compact", e.g. "Indeed you appear to me to be quite mad in not keeping your pledge" (1).

In the New Testament the term is used in two ways. 1) At the judgement on the last day Jesus will separate all nations gathered before him. "He will place the sheep at his right hand, but the goats at the left" (Mt 25,33). The term is used here to imply the side of good fortune or happiness. 2) A special New Testament use of the term is in the meaning of Christ's exaltation. In his Pentecostal speech Peter says: "Being therefore exalted at the right hand of God (τῇ δεξιᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ), and having received from the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit, he has poured out this which you see and hear." (Acts 2,33). This is the fulfilment of the promise of the messianic royal psalm 110,1. The term in this use runs through the whole New Testament: Acts 2,34; 5,31; 7,56; Rom 8,34; Eph 1,20; Col 3,1; Heb 1,3; 1,13; 8,1; 10,12; 12,2; 1 Pet 3,22. This fact indicates that the Christians of the early Church believed that by the events which happened since Jesus' resurrection his messianic claim was fulfilled; that he is now occupying the honourable seat at the right hand of God (2).

---

(1) P Fay.124(ii/A.D.), indirect quotation from Moult-Mill.,p.141.
(2) This description of the term ἡ δεξιά follows ThWB. II, pp. 37-9.

Thus our phrase says: (When he had made purification for sins), he sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high. Having achieved the work of atonement in utter obedience to God's will (cf.5,8), the Son returns now to his Father and takes a seat on His right hand. He takes his place second to none but God. As the third member of verse 3 (καθαρισμὸν ποιησάμενος) elides the crucifixion in describing the work of atonement by the Son, so it is with the fourth member: without describing his resurrection our phrase says that the Son sat down at the right hand of God.

8. Having become as much superior to angels as the name he has obtained is more excellent than theirs: τοσούτῳ κρείττων γενόμενος τῶν ἀγγέλων ὅσῳ διαφορώτερον παρ' αὐτοὺς κεκληρονόμηκεν ὄνομα.

The act of enthronement in the foregoing phrase is explicated here as that of becoming as much superior to angels as the name he has obtained is more excellent than theirs. The name is what it designates (1). Accordingly, to inherit the name more excellent than that of the angels is to become what this name designates.

The inheritance of the name is further described as God's appointment in verse 5 by quoting Ps 2,7 and 2 Sam 7,14.

---

(1) Cf.ThWB. V,pp.242ff.

"Thou art my Son
to-day I have begotten thee"(Ps 2,7).

Then follows the presentation of the Son before the powers of the heaven, who must acknowledge him as the Son in his new dignity and must worship him (προσκυνεῖν) (v.6) (1). Lastly comes the sitting on the throne (v.13 = Ps 110,1), which is in fact the documentation of the enthronement described in verse 3. As we have seen before, this is a scene of "enthronement": God's naming His Son; the presentation of His Son before the heavenly powers and their προσκύνησις before him; lastly, his enthronement.

From the above it is pretty clear that the name inherited by the Son is that of the Son (2). The Son has become (post-existent) what he was (pre-existent), when he had completed the work of atonement by his death (historical). The following comment of Westcott seems to be pointing out this fact. "That which had been proposed in the eternal council (v.2, ἔθηκεν) was realized when the work of redemption was completed."(3). What the Son was in his pre-existent being is now publicly declared and conferred upon him by his Father, after "he had freely undertook his mission for God's other sons on earth"(4) in complete obedience to God's will.

---

(1) E.Kaesemann,op.cit.,pp.59,70; O.Michel,op.cit.,p.54; H. Windisch,op.cit.,p.15; cf. J.Moffatt,op.cit.,xl-xli.
(2) Cf.ThWB.V,p.273.
(3) Westcott,op.cit.,p.17.
(4) J.Moffatt,op.cit.,xli.

VI

Thus far we have seen Christology in the prologue of the Epistle (1,1-14). The result of our study may be summarized as follows:

1. The divine Sonship of Christ

The Son is the effulgence of the glory of God, and the exact reproduction of His essence (predicate 3 and 4).

2. Christ's Mediatorship of creation

1) The Son is the heir of all things (pred.1) and

2) the mediator of creation and the upholder of the created world (pred.2 and 5).

3. Highpriesthood and Kingship of Christ

1) He made purification for sins (pred.6) and

2) sat down at the right hand of God, having become as much superior to angels as the name he obtained is more excellent than theirs (pred.7 and 8).

Or we may put it this way. The preexistent Son is the effulgence of God's glory and the exact impress of His essence — "a being who is related to God as the radiance to the central light, or the impression to the seal."(1). This Son is the heir of all things, the mediator of creation and the upholder of this created world. He made purification for sins and sat down at the right hand of God, having become as much superior to angels as the name inherited is more excellent than theirs. With O.Cullmann we may

---

(1) E.F.Scott, The Epistle to the Hebrews,1922,p.161.

say, "Der Praeexistente, der gestern Gekreuzigte, der heute im Verborgenen Herrschende, der bei der Aionenwende Wiederkehrende: sie sind alle eins, es ist der gleiche Christus, aber in Ausuebung der zeitlich sukzessiven hilsgeschichtlichen Funktionen."(1).

The temporal scheme of this Christology is pre-existence, existence and post-existence of the Son. One striking feature of the Christology here, however, is that there is no hint of the Son's incarnation, crucifixion and resurrection. The historical event of Christ is not mentioned here, but rather presupposed, since "ἐφάπαξ " (7,27;9,12;10,10) later refers to this historical uniqueness of Christ's atoning work. The description is made from the standpoint of the Son of God. In other words, the Christology in this prologue is presented from the point of view of the eternal divine economy of salvation. Thus the author does not desscribe the historical event of Christ, but the eternal significance of this event.

The base upon which Christology of Hebrews is built is the divine Sonship of Christ. Because of the pre-existent relationship of the Son to God as his Father, Christ can act as high-priest. His priesthood is rooted in his divine Sonship. Purification for sins once for all (ἐφάπαξ) is only possible on the ground of this divine Sonship of Christ.

As we have seen in the course of exegesis, the background of Christology in the prologue is Hellenistic Gnosis. The Son as the

---

(1) O.Cullmann,Christus und die Zeit, 2 ed.,1948,pp.94f. Cf. ibid.,pp.97ff.

effulgence of the glory of God and the exact impress of His essence points toward the Philonic Logos, a great Light-Stream from the Source. We owe much to Goodenough for his demonstration of Philonic light-symbolism of God and Logos. However, there is a wide gulf between the author of Hebrews and Philo. Philo's Logos is a metaphysical-cosmological being, the divine Reason being hypostatized, or conceived in a symbol of light, while the Son in our Epistle is an historical person of Jesus of Nazareth (cf.7,14). His priesthood is also inseparable from his personal experience of suffering and humiliation (2,14ff.; 5,7ff.). What the author does here is to develop the confession (ὁμολογία): Jesus is the Son of God (4,14), by means of Philonic conception of Logos.

Ernst Kaesemann has pointed out that the schema of the Christ-logy in the Epistle is that of the "erloeste Erloeser" in Gnostic myth (1). He sees the motive of the Epistle in "das wandernde Gottesvolk", who are on the way toward the rest (κατάπαυσις) in the heavenly city of God (cf.11,10.14.16.17). The people of God (ὁ λαὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ,4,10) in the Epistle to the Hebrews as well as the Gnostics in the Mandaeean Gnosis are on "a way". The leader and pioneer on this way is that "erloeste Erloeser", just as Christ, the Son of God is the forerunner (πρόδρομος ,6,20) and pioneer (ἀρχηγός ,12,2) of his brothers in Hebrews. However, here we must also recognize an essential difference between

---

(1) E.Kaesemann, op.cit., pp.52,60ff.,90,111,136,etc.

these two types of soteriology. The Christology of Hebrews is firmly based upon the historical event of Christ, while Gnostic saviour is a product of speculation without any historical base. The author of Hebrews may use some Gnostic terms in order to explicate what is implied in his Christology. But he uses these terms just as a symbol by means of which he achieves his aim.

Chapter 4

The Son of God II

The Son in his Humiliation: 2,5-18

As we have seen heretofore, in 1,1-2,4 Christ was presented as the Son of God in contrast to angels. In the present passage (2,5-18) Christ is described as man in contrast to angels. The passage begins with a presentation of Christ's "way" through a messianic interpretation of Psalm 8,5-7. Then follows a description of Christ's "way" and work in his humiliation and exaltation. Thus the passage can be divided into two parts. 1) 2,5-9: Exegetical description of Christ's "way"; 2) 2,10-18: Historical event of Christ: his "way" and work in his humiliation and exaltation. In the following we shall see the Son of God in his humiliation presented in this passage.

I

2,5: οὐ γὰρ ἀγγέλοις ὑπέταξεν τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν μέλλουσαν, περὶ ἧς λαλοῦμεν.

Here ἡ οἰκουμένη μέλλουσα (hebr. הַבָּאָה הָעוֹלָם, aram. עָלְמָא דְאָתֵי) is the "state of things, which, in relation to its development in time, is called 'the age to come' (ὁ μέλλων αἰών) and, in relation to its supreme ruler and characteristics, 'the Kingdom of God', or 'the Kingdom of heaven', even the order of which corresponds with the completed work of Christ (1).

(1) B.F.Westcott, op.cit., p.42.

οἰκουμένη μέλλουσα means, then, a new state of things, wherein the σωτηρία of 1,14; 2,3 is to be realized (1).

Thus our clause says that the one who is appointed by God to reign in this future world is not of the angelic orders (,but the Son, who has come down for a time in the human nature and suffered death).

2,6-8a: διεμαρτύράτο δέ πού τις λέγων·
τί ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ὅτι μιμνήσκη αὐτοῦ;
ἢ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ὅτι ἐπισκέπτη αὐτόν;
ἠλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους,
δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφάνωσας αὐτόν,
πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ.

Here our author quots Ps 8,5-7 LXX, the quotation formula of which is Philonic (2). To our author the real speaker behind τις is God. The Psalm is a hymn to praise God the creator. There is no trace that the Rabbis used this Psalm as Messianic (3). But Paul (cf. 1 Cor 15,27; Phil 3,21; Eph 1,22) and our author seem to understand the Psalm in Messianic sense (4).

---

(1) Cf. J.Moffatt, op.cit.,p.21. According to Michel, the expression οἰκουμένη μέλλουσα derives from the late Judaistic and primitive Christian eschatology (op.cit.,p.69).
(2) Vide supra chap. 2.
(3) Cf. Str-B. III, p.681.
(4) Cf.O.Michel, op.cit., p.71. Lietzmann comments on 1 Cor 15,27 as follows: "Also war die messianische Deutung von Ps 8,5-7 dem Pls gelaeufig; ob sie durch den υἱὸς ἀνθρώπουv.5 veranlasst war, ist eine Frage fuer sich." (An die Korinther I, 4 ed., 1949, p.81). Cf. also A. Plummer (ICC) and Jean Héring (La première Épître de St. Paul aux Corinthiens, 1949) on the passage; Str-B. I,pp.485f. According to E.Kaesemann this use of the Psalm is also attested by 3 Henoch 5,10 (op. cit.,p.78).

Here a question arises: Does ἄνθρωπος or υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου in this quotation mean primarily the messianic Son of man, or does the term only mean, as in the Hebrew text, man as man? J.Koegel has taken up this problem in his article "Der Sohn und die Soehne" (1). The result of his study is as follows. By this term man as man (der Mensch an sich) is to be understood, whereby, however, a wider relation to the Son of man κατ' ἐξόχην is not to be lost out of sight. The Son and the sons are related to each other. According to Koegel man as man is extended to Messiah as "the most prominent type of mankind" (der hervorragendste Typus des Menschengeschlechtes). He supports this understanding not only by the text of the quoted Psalm, but also by pointing out a contrast between humiliation (v.7a) and exaltation (v.7b), which supports the messianic understanding of the quotation, since here two successive temporal phases appear. If ἄνθρωπος were understood purely as mankind (Mensch ueberhaupt), this contrast might not be necessary. From this exposition Koegel sees verse 8b as a correct and harmonious introduction to the Christology in the following verse. Accordingly there is no hiatus between the foregoing "anthropology" (vv.5-8a) and the following "Christology" (vv. 8b-9), in so far as in Christ the glory promised to man has found its fulfilment. This fulfilment may be realized only in Jesus; yet it is truly

(1) J.Koegel, Der Sohn und die Soehne, in Beitraege zur Foerderung christlicher Theologie, 1904, Heft 5-6. The following presentation is based upon the quotations from Koegel's article in Kaesemann's "Das wandernde Gottesvolk", since an original copy is unavailable to us. Cf. E.Kaesemann, ibid., pp.75ff.

realized, because Jesus in his humiliation is the representative of mankind. Thus Jesus as the humiliated is the exalted.

E.Kaesemann recognizes the merit of this exegesis of Koegel's. Credit goes to the result of this exegesis. Because, Kaesemann says, as a matter of fact the whole Christology of this paragraph (2,5-9) is based upon the proposition that Christ as the humiliated is at the same time the exalted. This proposition, however, can not be derived from the quoted Psalm in its original context. Rather this paradoxical proposition can first be understood from the speculation of the Son of man, which Koegel brought into his exegesis. According to Kaesemann, Koegel did not fully realize the implication of this speculation with reason, because he did not know the religious-historical connection of this speculation with the teaching of "Urmensch". This Gnostic myth of "Urmensch" is the base for the propositions that the humiliated and the exalted, the one who is in need of salvation and the saved are one.

Though the result of Koegel's exegesis is valid, his exegesis itself is not sufficient, chiefly because of his understanding of Jesus as "the most prominent type of mankind", since nowhere in the New Testament Jesus is made to stand on the same level with us. According to Kaesemann, putting mankind into the "Heilswerk" of the Son of man is only possible, where the "Urmensch" is understood as the representative of fallen and lost heavenly beings. Thus he sees a Gnostic myth of "Urmensch" or "der erloeste

Erloeser" behind 2,5ff. (1).

Kaesemann finally resolves the idea of the passage (2,5-9) as follows: the humiliated is now the exalted, but the exalted must reign the world; his sovereignty, however, is not yet to be seen, but only its presupposition, i.e. Jesus' exaltation.

The foregoing observation may help us in interpreting vv. 8b-9. Here our author presents a Christology through a messianic interpretation of Ps 8,5-7 quoted above.

---

(1) E.Kaesemann presents the Gnostic myth of "Urmensch" in outline as follows. Since the fallen and lost "Urmensch" comprises all heavenly particles of the soul, which are now scattered on earth, with his salvation that of his "seeds" or "kins" will be realized at the same time. This salvation of "Urmensch" is realized, when he and his parts, viz. the scattered particles of his soul which are each man's soul, are reminded of their heavenly origin and thus urged to an emancipation from this world of matter in order to return to the heavenly homeland (op.cit.,pp.52f.). Cf. Ginza, transl. by M.Lidzbarski; Jonas, H.,Gnosis und spaetantiker Geist, 1934; R.Bultmann, Das Urchristentum, 1949, pp.181ff.; idem, Theologie des N.T., 1953, § 15; C.H.Kraeling, Anthropos and Son of Man, 1927. Vide supra chap. I, sect. I.

8b-9: ἐν τῷ γὰρ ὑποτάξαι [αὐτῷ] τὰ πάντα οὐδὲν ἀφῆκεν αὐτῷ ἀνυπότακτον. Νῦν δὲ οὔπω ὁρῶμεν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα ὑποτεταγμένα· τὸν δὲ βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους ἠλαττωμένον βλέπομεν Ἰησοῦν διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφανωμένον, ὅπως ⌜χάριτι θεοῦ⌝ ὑπὲρ παντὸς γεύσηται θανάτου.

V.8b: [αὐτῷ] :
1) αὐτῷ ..... 𝔓46 ℵ pl lat sy.
2) om. ..... p46 B d sy^{h} arm.

Groups of the best MSS favour the first reading. However, there is a probability that αὐτῷ is added here in association with the following αὐτῷ in the same clause, or perhaps with αὐτῷ further ahead in the same verse. On the contrary, the first reading can not explain the omission of the word. Hence perhaps the omission of αὐτῷ may be more probable. But with or without the word the meaning of the passage is clear.

V.9: ⌜χάριτι θεοῦ⌝ :
1) χάριτι θεοῦ ..... ℵ A C D E F G.
2) χωρὶς θεοῦ ..... M 424^{mg} 1739^{mg} sy^{p,codd} Or^{pt} Theo^{mops} Ambr.

The reading χάριτι θεοῦ is supported by the best MSS, while M, marginal readings of minuscles 424,1739, Peschitto, Origen, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Ambrose support χωρὶς θεοῦ . Origen knew these two readings. In his commentary on Jn 1,35 he says: "He is a 'great high priest', having offered himself up in sacrifice once (ἅπαξ) not for human beings alone, but for the rest of rational creatures as well. 'For without God he tasted death for everyone' (χωρὶς γὰρ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ παντὸς ἐγεύσατο θανάτου). In some copies of the epistle to the Hebrews this passage runs: 'for by the grace of God' (χάριτι γὰρ θεοῦ). Well, if 'without God he tasted death for everyone', he did not die simply for human beings, but for the rest of rational creatures as well; and if 'by the grace of God he tasted the death for everyone', he died for all except for God (χωρὶς θεοῦ)- for 'by the grace of God he tasted death for everyone'..." (indirect quotation from J.Moffatt, op.cit., p.25). Hence it is evident that in the second century two forms of the text were current.

Facing this textual situation it is hard to decide for either one of these two readings. Westcott-Hort thinks χωρίς "probably arose from a confusion of letters which might easily take place in papyrus writing." (The New Testament, Vol.II,1896, p.129). E.Riggenbach thinks also χωρὶς θεοῦ as a possible correction.(op. cit.,p.45-6, note 14). Against these men Ad.von Harnack holds that the reading χωρὶς θεοῦ is more probable, since of these two readings χωρίς is more difficult. O.Michel follows Harnack.

The reading χωρὶς Θεοῦ is capable of being explained in several ways. 1) Christ died "apart from divinity", i.e. he died according to his human, but not divine nature. 2) Christ died "apart from God", i.e. he died forsaken by God. Cf.Mk 15,34. 3) Christ died for all, "except God". Cf.1 Cor 15,27. 4) Christ died to bring all under his power, "except God". Of these explanations the first one requires a term like τῆς Θεότητος. The third explanation takes παντός in, while the fourth modifies the third by taking ὑπὲρ παντός = to master everything, except God. Thus the second and the third explanation seem tenable.

Though we hesitate to decide for either of the two readings: χάριτι Θεοῦ and χωρὶς Θεοῦ, χάριτι seems to fit in well with the following ἔπρεπεν. As J.Moffatt says, "it was χάριτι Θεοῦ that Jesus died for everyone, and this was consonant with God's character (ἔπρεπεν γὰρ αὐτῷ, i.e. Θεῷ) (J.Moffatt, op.cit., p.27).

Cf. B.F.Westcott, H.Windisch, J.Moffatt, O.Michel and W.Manson on the passage. Further cf. J.Koegel, BFTh.1904,Heft 5-6; Ad. von Harnack, Zwei alte dogmatische Korrekturen in Hebrews, SAB. 1929.

8b:

Westcott refers γάρ further back to verse 5, interpreting as follows:"... the connection is: God did not subject the future world to angels (v.5), for He promised man an absolute sovereignty.."(1). This is not likely. γάρ here simply means "now"(with J.Moffatt and R.S.V.).

ἐν τῷ : Windisch and Moffatt implicitly add λέγειν following the usage in 8,13. Hence Moffatt translates: "Now by 'putting all things under him', the writer meant to leave nothing out of his control"(2). As it seems to us, this interpretation goes a

---

(1) B.F.Westcott,op.cit.,p.45.
(2) J.Moffatt, op.cit.,p.21. Cf. H.Windisch, op.cit.,p.22.

little too far. ἐν τῷ goes with ὑποτάξαι as it stands in the text, meaning "indem", viz. "dadurch dass" (1). So the Revised Standard Version's rendering "in putting .... in subjection" is likely to be preferred.

αὐτῷ in the original context of Ps 8 is either man (אֱנוֹשׁ, ἄνθρωπος, mankind), or son of man (בֶּן־אָדָם, υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, any particular man). Jesus as the Son of man in messianic sense is not exclusively meant here (2). But this does not mean that Jesus is excluded from αὐτῷ , since Jesus in his humiliation is a man and this fact brings him into inseparable relation with man as man. The same can be said of αὐτῷ in the following sentence of verse 8b.

Against Westcott and Moffatt, Windisch assumes that the quotation of Ps 8 is applied from the beginning to Jesus, but not to "Menschen, d.i.Menschheit" because of the following reason. There is neither in the Epistle to the Hebrews nor any other writing of the New Testament the teaching that the new world will bring to "mankind" the sovereignty of the world, which is destined to him since the creation. But it is only saints (οἱ ἅγιοι) who will share in Christ's reign over the universe (3). We can not agree with Windisch, in so far as he understands the quotation applied exclusively to Jesus. We do not content, however, that

---

(1) Cf.Bl-Debr. § 404,4.
(2) Cf.J.Moffatt,op.cit.,p.23.
(3) H.Windisch,op.cit.,p.22. Cf.1 Cor 6,2; Rev 3,21;20,4.

the quotation is applied only to man, excluding Jesus. We would rather say that the quotation is applied by the author of Hebrews both to man and Jesus, in so far as Jesus and man are the Son and the sons of God, in other words, in so far as Jesus is a man (1). It is evident that this application of the Psalm depends upon the author's understanding of the relation between Jesus and mankind. Though Kaesemann's proposition with regard to the background of the passage does not seem sufficiently proved, yet through his study a new perspective has been opened for the problem of the relationship between the Son and the sons of God (2).

Verse 8b says then: God promised man an absolute sovereignty. But as it is, we do not yet see everything in subjection to him. He is in his humiliation.

With verse 9 a messianic interpretation of Ps 8,5-7 properly begins and we are introduced into a Christology which tends to become a soteriology at the end of the verse, leading us into verse 10.

τὸν δὲ βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους ἠλαττωμένον βλέπομεν Ἰησοῦν:

The comparison with angels in the original context of Ps 8 indicates the sublimity of man, but our passage points to a

---

(1) We can not agree with Moffatt, when he says, "The application to the messiah of words like those quoted in v.6 is forced, and 'Hebrews' has no room for the notion of Christ as the ideal or representative Man, as is implied in the messianic interpretation of αὐτῷ in v.8." (op.cit.,p.23).

(2) Cf. R.Bultmann,Weissagung und Erfuellung, in Glauben und Verstehen, 2 Bd., 1952,p.166.

temporary humiliation of the properly exalted one.

βραχύ τι is used in the sense of "temporarily", "for a little while", rather than "slightly", because the humiliation of the Son is itself a tremendous one.

διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου: Gramatically two readings are possible. 1) To take the phrase as the object of his humiliation, viz. incarnation. Then the passage reads: "We do see Jesus ἠλαττωμένον for the purpose of suffering death" (J. Moffatt, op.cit.,p.24). This reading is supported by J.Moffatt, T.H.Robinson (Moffatt Commentary), W.Manson and H.Strathmann. 2) To take the phrase in connection with ἐστεφανωμένον as the reason for exaltation: "Crowned with glory and honour, because of the suffering of death."(R.S.V.). This reading is favoured by B.F.Westcott, O.Michel, H.Windisch and C.Spicq (1). We will prefer the second reading to the first, because of the general teaching of the Epistle: Through humiliation in absolute submission to God's will, Jesus was exalted, viz. the crowning through passion.

With the ὅπως-clause the author describes the soteriological meaning of Jesus' passion and exaltation. As Westcott comments, "the particle is not strictly connected with ἐστεφανωμένον

---

(1) C.Spicq,C.,L'Épître aux Hébreux,II,p.33: "Or ces honneurs et cette gloire actuels et célestes lui ont été attribués comme récompense, litt. 'en retour' de la passion qu'il a victorieusement supportée (διά avec l'acc.,'à cause de'; cf.Rom 4,25;Gal 4, 13;Apoc 12,11)."

alone, but refers to all that precedes - to the Passion crowned by the Ascension" (1).

If we take the reading χάριτι Θεοῦ , then it may mean that by His grace God did not turn away from Christ in his passion and made his death fruitful for everyone (2). χωρὶς Θεοῦ may mean that God led Christ into his passion, but at the same time He intensified the passion through the temptation of abandonment by God.

ὑπὲρ παντός : For every man. As Moffatt comments, " παντός was at an early stage taken as neuter, practically = the universe." (3). This interpretation occurs first in Origen, who (in Jn 1,35) writes: "Well, if 'without God he tasted death for everyone', he did not die simply for human beings, but for the rest of rational creatures as well (ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν λοιπῶν λογικῶν)." The Greek fathers followed this interpretation of παντός synonymously with the entire universe, including especially angels (4). However, the thought in this passage is directed

---

(1) B.F.Westcott,op.cit.,p.46.
(2) Cf.O.Michel,op.cit.,p.74.
(3) J.Moffatt,op.cit.,p.25.
(4) Cf. ibid.
Theodoret ad loc.: τὸ μέντοι πάθος ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων ὑπέμεινε. πάντα γὰρ ὅσα κτίστην ἔχει τὴν φύσιν ταύτης ἐδεῖτο τῆς θεραπείας ....
Chrysostom,Hom.,iv,2: οὐχὶ [ὑπὲρ] τῶν πιστῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἁπάσης· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν.
Oecumenius (Eph 2,14): οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων ἀπέθανεν, ἵνα λύσῃ τὸ μεσότυχον [μεσότοιχον] τοῦ φραγμοῦ καὶ ἑνώσῃ τὰ κάτω τοῖς ἄνω.
(Indirect quotations from B.F.Westcott,op.cit.,pp.46f.

to man (cf.v.16) and in such a context the phrase hardly mean "for everything" (neuter) (1).

γεύσηται θανάτου: γεύεσθαι in the Septuagint as a rendering of טעם occurs nine times with genitive or accusative case, but γεύεσθαι θανάτου never occurs (2). The expression parallels with the rabbinic expression טעם טעם בְּמִיתָה (3). Here in our passage the phrase means "to experience the bitterness of death" (ἰδεῖν or θεωρεῖν θάνατον , Heb 11,5; Lk 2,26; Jn 8,51,cf. Ps 33,9 LXX), or "to experience the bitter reality of death"(4).

So verse 9 says: But we see Jesus, who for a while was humiliated lower than the angels, exalted because of the suffering of death, so that by the grace of God he might experience the bitter reality of death.

In summa, in our passage 2,5-9 the "way" of Christ is presented through a messianic interpretation of Ps 8. In verse 8b-9 the "anthropology" of the Psalm in its Hebrew context is interpreted in messianic sense. We might interpret the passage as follows: The one who is appointed by God to reign in the future world is

---

(1) Cf.B.F.Westcott,op.cit.,p.46.
(2) 1 Sam 14,24: ἐγεύσατο ἄρτου
29: ἐγευσάμην τοῦ μέλιτος τούτου
43: ἐγευσάμην βραχὺ μέλι
2 Sam 3,35: οὐ μὴ γεύσωμαι ἄρτος
19,36 LXX: γεύσεται ὁ δοῦλός σου ἔτι ὃ φάγομαι
Job 12,11: σῖτα γεύεται
34, 3: γεύεται βρῶσιν
Ps 33,9 LXX: γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ κύριος
Jon 3, 7: γευσάσθωσαν μηδέν
(3) Str-B.I,pp.751f.; II,p.525.
(4) Cf.ThWB. I,pp.674-6.

not the angels (,but the Son). As Psalm 8,5-7 says, God promised to put everything under the son of man. As it is, however, we do not see everything subjected to him. But we see that Jesus, who is humiliated because of his suffering of death, is exalted, so that for the grace of God he might taste the bitterness of death for everyone. Thus we recognize here three stages of Christ's "way": 1) humiliation through incarnation and suffering; 2) exaltation through resurrection and crowning with glory and honour; 3) absolute submission of the universe under him, which is still open for the future.

II

2,10-13: ἔπρεπεν γὰρ αὐτῷ, δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα καὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, πολλοὺς υἱοὺς εἰς δόξαν ἀγαγόντα τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν διὰ παθημάτων τελειῶσαι. ὅ τε γὰρ ἁγιάζων καὶ οἱ ἁγιαζόμενοι ἐξ ἑνὸς πάντες· δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἐπαισχύνεται ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοὺς καλεῖν, λέγων·

ἀναγγελῶ τὸ ὄνομά σου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου,
ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε·

καὶ πάλιν·

ἐγὼ ἔσομαι πεποιθὼς ἐπ' αὐτῷ·

καὶ πάλιν·

ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ παιδία ἃ μοι ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός.

2,10:

σωτηρία : The term is unequivocal in so far as it means life (ζωή) and deliverance from death (ῥύεσθαι ἐκ θανάτου, 2 Cor 1,10). "Our Saviour Christ Jesus, who abolished death and brought life and immortality to light through the gospel."(R.S.V.) (... τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καταργήσαντος μὲν τὸν θάνατον φωτίσαντος δὲ ζωὴν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, 2 Tim 1,10). In this sense Christ is called the Saviour (2 Tim 1, 10; Tit 1,4; 2,13; 3,6; Acts 5,31, etc.), or ἀρχηγὸς τῆς σωτηρίας (Heb 2,10), viz. τῆς ζωῆς (Acts 3,15), αἴτιος σωτηρίας αἰωνίου (Heb 5,9). Correspondingly the Christian message is called εὐαγγέλιον τῆς σωτηρίας (Eph 1,13) or λόγος τῆς σωτηρίας (Acts 13, 26).

The implication of the term σωτηρία differentiates, however, according to the following factors: 1) in what context the power of death, the way of salvation and the life are understood; 2) whether the salvation is understood as future or present; 3) how this salvation can be acquired (1).

In Hebrews εὐαγγελίζεσθαι and the receiving of ἐπαγγελία are one (2). This means that the divine revelation carries the character of ἐπαγγελία. The object of ἐπαγγελία is σωτηρία (3). What then understands the author of Hebrews under the term

---

(1) Cf.R.Bultmann,Theologie des N.T., 1953,p.502.
(2) 4,2.6. Cf.ThWB.II,p.581,note 67; E.Kaesemann,op.cit.,p.11.
(3) 1,14: τοὺς μέλλοντας κληρονομεῖν σωτηρίαν.
6,12: τῶν διὰ πίστεως καὶ μακροθυμίας κληρονομούντων τὰς ἐπαγγελίας.Cf.6,17;9,15;11,9.

σωτηρία? The salvation is conceived in terms of the formal conception of μισθαποδοσία (1). Now μισθαποδοσία consists either of punishment or of reward, neither of which depends upon our wishes, but are rather expressions of the divine righteousness. The positive content of μισθαποδοσία is circumscribed by κληρονομία (2). Hence the punishment consists of being excluded of this inheritance.

Then what is the content of κληρονομία? Here we shall quote R.Gyllenberg's presentation. After having said that the term "reward" (μισθαποδοσία) is nearly synonymous with "promise" (ἐπαγγελία), "inheritance" (κληρονομία) and etc., he says: "Aus dem Zusammenhang ergibt sich, dass die Worte μισθαποδοσία und ἐπαγγελία inhaltlich nichts anderes bedeuten, als was mit ζήσεται und περιποίησις ψυχῆς positiv, mit οὐκ εἰς ἀπώλειαν negativ ausgedrueck ist."(3). This is what he calls the Old Testament-eschatological conception of σωτηρία as ἐπαγγελία, which finally goes back to the Old Testament conception of promise.

According to Gyllenberg, however, this conception of σωτηρία must be extended and specialized by a cosmic-metaphysical conception. The author of Hebrews speaks not only of judgement and life, but also of a future world (αἰὼν μέλλων ,6,5), which he hopes for. So Gyllenberg says: "Wenn wir nun zu den zuerst geschilderten Gedankengaengen zurueckkehren, so finden wir, dass

---

(1) Cf.2,2;10,30;11,6.26.
(2) 9,15: τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν λάβωσιν οἱ κεκλημένοι τῆς αἰωνίου κληρονομίας . Cf.1,2;6,17;11,7.
(3) Raphel Gyllenberg, Die Christologie des Hebraeerbriefes, ZSTh. XI,1934,p.664.

die Verheissung Gottes, das Erbe, ewiges Leben in der Bedeutung der Teilnahme an oder vielleicht noch besser in der Bedeutung des Eintritts in die unsichtbare himmlische Welt ist."(1).

κληρονομία as a content of the promise, then, is οἰκουμένη μέλλουσα or κατάπαυσις(2).

How can this salvation in the sense of reaching οἰκουμένη μέλλουσα or κατάπαυσις be acquired? Here Gyllenberg points out the third meaning of σωτηρία , viz. the more personal and individualistic implication of the term. σωτηρία is " εἴσοδος τῶν ἁγίων " (10,19), or "προσέρχεσθαι τῷ Θρόνῳ τῆς χάριτος "(4, 16).

According to this understanding of Gyllenberg's σωτηρία is a conception of a wider scope harmonizing three circles of implications. When we see σωτηρία in the context of time, however, the conception shows its paradoxical character of present and future. The promise to reach the rest was made to Israel in the past. This promise is fulfilled in Jesus Christ. Hence the present age is already described as the time of the new covenant (8,6-13; 10,15-18), which is realized by the self-sacrifice of Christ as the high-priest. "The new and living way is opened for us by Christ." (10,20). On the other hand σωτηρία is a

---

(1) R.Gyllenberg, op.cit.,p.667.
(2) 4,1: καταλειπομένης ἐπαγγελίας εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσιν αὐτοῦ. Cf.11,10.14.16;13,14.

content of a promise. Although the way to the salvation is opened for us through Christ, we are still on this way hoping to reach the final destiny of the promised rest through endurance (ὑπομονή ,10,36). Thus σωτηρία is in tension between future and present. However, the future aspect is prevailing. This is evident from the fact that the author understands εὐαγγέλιον in the form of ἐπαγγελία . As Kaesemann puts it, "Dass man das εὐαγγέλιον auf Erden nur als ἐπαγγελία hat, ist fuer unseren Text grundlegende Voraussetzung. Daraus ergibt sich dann aber, dass die dem Offenbarungsempfaenger gemaesse Existenzform in der Zeit einzig die Wanderschaft sein kann." (1). We leave aside here whether, Kaesemann's conclusion derived from his valid statement about εὐαγγέλιον and ἐπαγγελίαis valid in itself.

ἀρχηγός (2): The term is used in the following meanings.

1. Founder, of a school: Thales is ὁ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχηγὸς φιλοσοφίας , Aristot Metaph. 1,3; Hero of a city, who has founded it and has become its protector giving his own name to the city: Athena is the tutelary goddes (ἀρχηγέτις) of Athens; beginner.

2. Prince, chief: Δία ἀρχηγὸς Θεῶν , Bacchyl. 5,179; leader: ἀρχηγὸς Ἑλλάνων, Simon.138; ἀρχηγὸς ἱερέων Corpus Inscriptionum Graecorum 6798.

---

(1) E.Kaesemann,op.cit.,p.6.
(2) Acts 3,15: τὸν δὲ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἀπεκτείνατε
5,31: τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς ἀρχηγὸς καὶ σωτῆρα ὕψωσεν
Heb 2,10: τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν διὰ παθημάτων
12,2: ἀφορῶντες εἰς τὸν τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγὸν καὶ τελειωτὴν Ἰησοῦν.

3. First cause, originator (Urheber): ἀρχηγὸς κοπίδων , Heracl. 81; Zeus is ἀρχηγὸς φύσεως , Cleanth Stoic. fr.537,2; ἀρχηγὸς φόνουPOxy 1241 iii,35; the originating power, τὸ ἀρχηγόν Plat Crat.401d.

4. In the Septuagint ἀρχηγός is used mostly in the sense of political or military leader of the entire people or of a part of the people: שַׂר, נָשִׂיא, רֹאשׁ. In Mic 1,13 the term is used in another context: ἀρχηγὸς τῆς ἁμαρτίας (חַטָּאת רֵאשִׁית) (1).

According to the hellenistic usage of the term above mentioned it is natural enough when man explains the expression ἀρχηγὸς τῆς σωτηρίας in our passage from αἴτιος σωτηρίας αἰωνίου,5,9. However, the context of these two passages are different. In the latter passage αἴτιος σωτηρίας αἰωνίου is used in the context of Christ's priestly work, which is not immediately identical with Christ's work of salvation in 2,10 (2). Consequently we have to investigate the meaning of the expression ἀρχηγὸς τῆς σωτηρίας independently, without relating it to 5,9. There is one more passage with a similar expression: τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγὸς καὶ τελειωτής ,12,2. Gerhard Delling understands this expression in a ethical sense, saying: "Weiter aber ist Jesus ἀρχηγός auch insofern, als er als erster Mensch in urbildlichen Weise den Christengott glaubte und diesen Glauben an Gottes bedingungslose (auch

(1) Cf. Liddel-Scott, Walter Bauer on the term; ThWB.I, pp.485-6.
(2) Cf.E.Kaesemann,op.cit.,p.79.

die Suendenschranke ueberwindende) Liebe durch seinen Kreuzestod 'vollendete', ihr die konkret-einmalige heilsgeschichtliche Verwirklichung gab." (1). According to Kaesemann, however, 12,1ff. must not be interpreted in an ethical way as Delling does. Thus Kaesemann says: "So ist der Glaube in Hebr. auch gar nicht auf die suendenvergebende Liebe Gottes, sondern auf die Erlangung der himmlischen Welt bezogen und eine alle Ethik ueberhöhende, das Kosmische als solches ueberwindende Haltung." (2). Hence Kaesemann agrees with Michel, when the latter points out a correspondence between two groups of expressions: ἀρχηγός and τελειωτής ; ἀρχή and τέλος , as it is hinted in Col 1,18 and Rev 1,8 (3). So the conception of τελειωτής may be understood from Colossian passage: The whole pleroma is contained in Christ in such manner that the pleroma reaches the rest in Christ. The salvation and the consummation of the fallen creation is realized in Christ in so far as the fallen creation must be saved and consummated by Christ. He is the "τελειωτὴς τῆς πίστεως". This action of consummation is not to be separated from the action of ἀρχηγός .

R.Gyllenberg understands the conception of ἀρχηγός from Philonic formula: ἀρχηγέτης νέας ἀνθρώπων σπορᾶς (Migr Abr.46). He says: Christus "ist darum nicht nur αἴτιος τῆς σωτηρίας, was keine Gemeinschaft zwischen dem Urheber und denen, die von seinem Werk Nutzen haben, zu bedeuten braucht , sondern eben ἀρχηγός im weiteren Sinne, der eben die Gemeinschaft zwischen dem Ahnherrn

---

(1) ThWB. I,p.486.
(2) E.Kaesemann,op.cit.,p.80.
(3) O.Michel,op.cit.,p.76.

und seiner Nachkommenschaft andeutet. Christus ist, um einen philonischen Ausdruck zu gebrauchen, ἀρχηγέτης νέας ἀνθρώπων σποράς ."(1). Going a step further, Kaesemann sees behind Col 1,18 and the Philonic passage a Gnostic myth of the saviour as the leader of the saved people into the bright light, which saviour appears here in our passage (2,10) under the title of ἀρχηγός (2).

If this exposition of Kaesemann's is convincing, as it seems to us, ἀρχηγός is not to be understood as "Urheber" as it is used in the terminology of Hellenistic hero-cult, but it is to be understood simply as "leader" in connection with πρόδρομος , 6,20. Then ἀρχηγὸς τῆς σωτηρίας expresses Christ's function of salvation as the leader of the people who are following after him on the way, which he opened for them having gone himself at first. This going is itself Christ's leadership on this way. He was himself saved by going this way. At the same time, however, he became the leader of the people on the way into salvation by the very act of breaking through this way.

From here the connection between 2,10 and 12,2 becomes evident. In 12,2 Christ's leadership is related with "faith" (ὁ τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγὸς καὶ τελειωτής). This is because of chapter 11, wherein faith is described as that of the wandering people. We

---

(1) R.Gyllenberg, op.cit.,p.671.
(2) E.Kaesemann,op.cit.,pp.81-2. Cf.M.Dibelius, An die Kolosser, 3ed.,1953,p.17: "Er spricht hier(sc.1,18) offenbar die Identität von Urmensch (πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, κεφαλὴ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας) und Erlöser (πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας) aus. Damit wird endgueltig klar, dass er im Kampf gegen eine Gnosis selbst eine 'gnostische' Interpretation des christus-Geschehens vertritt."

can explain the connection between 2,10 and 5,9. Christ is αἴτιος τῆς σωτηρίας in so far as he is performing his high-priest's function of intercession in heaven for the people, being himself the leader and completer of salvation of this wandering people (1).

τελειοῦν (2): The prior meaning of the word is "to make perfect", "to complete". As we have seen above, Jesus goes the way to salvation as the leader (ἀρχηγός) and forerunner

---

(1) Cf.E.Keasemann,op.cit.,p.82.

(2) τελειοῦν : 23 times in N.T.(9 times in Heb).

Lk 2,43: τελειωσάντων τὰς ἡμέρας
13,32: καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ τελειοῦμαι
Jn 4,34: ἵνα ... τελειώσω αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔργον
5,36: τὰ γὰρ ἔργα ἃ δέδωκέν μοι ὁ πατὴρ ἵνα τελειώσω αὐτά
17, 4: τὸ ἔργον τελειώσας ὃ δέδωκάς μοι ἵνα ποιήσω
23: ἵνα ὦσιν τετελειωμένοι εἰς ἕν
19,28: ἵνα τελειωθῇ ἡ γραφή, λέγει ....
Acts 20,24: ὡς Γτελειώσω τὸν δρόμον μου (Γτελειῶσαι: Th.).
Phil 3,12: οὐχ ὅτι ἤδη ἔλαβον ἢ ἤδη τετελείωμαι
Heb 2,10: τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν διὰ παθημάτων τελειῶσαι
5, 9: τελειωθεὶς ἐγένετο .... αἴτιος σωτηρίας αἰωνίου
7,19: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐτελείωσεν ὁ νόμος
28: καθίστησιν ... υἱὸν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τετελειωμένον
9, 9: μὴ δυνάμενα κατὰ συνείδησιν τελειῶσαι τὸν λατρεύοντα
10, 1: οὐδέποτε δύναται τοὺς προσερχομένους τελειῶσαι
14: μιᾷ γὰρ προσφορᾷ τετελείωκεν ... τοὺς ἁγιαζομένους
11,40: ἵνα μὴ χωρὶς ἡμῶν τελειωθῶσιν
12,23: προσεληλύθατε .... πνεύμασι δικαίων τετελειωμένων
Jas 2,22: ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἡ πίστις ἐτελειώθη
1 Jn 2, 5: ἀληθῶς ἐν τούτῳ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ τετελείωται
4,12: ἡ ἀγάπη αὐτοῦ τετελειωμένη ἐν ἡμῖν ἐστιν
17: ἐν τούτῳ τετελείωται ἡ ἀγάπη μεθ' ἡμῶν
18: ὁ δὲ φοβούμενος οὐ τετελείωται ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ

τελειότης :

Col 3,14: ὅ ἐστιν σύνδεσμος τῆς τελειότητος
Heb 6, 1: ἐπὶ τὴν τελειότητα φερώμεθα

τελείωσις :

Lk 1,45: ἔσται τελείωσις τοῖς λελαλημένοις αὐτῇ.
Heb 7,11: εἰ μὲν οὖν τελείωσις διὰ τῆς Λευειτικῆς ἱερωσύνης ἦν

τελειωτής:

Heb 12, 2: ἀφορῶντες εἰς τὸν τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγὸν καὶ τελειωτὴν Ἰησοῦν.

(πρόδρομος) of his people. He makes his people perfect being himself made perfect. Here a question arises. How is it possible to say that Jesus is not only the one who makes the others perfect, but also the one who is perfected?

According to Windisch, τελειοῦν through suffering in 2,10 means the suffering for atonement, which belongs to the work of salvation and the completion of which makes the saviour to complete his work of salvation. But here an ethical moment is not excluded. In 5,8f. the suffering is described as the personal work of the incarnate son, viz. his ethical-religious task on earth, so that τελειωθείς here must be regarded as the expression for the conclusion of ethical-religious development of Jesus (1). Moffatt goes with Windisch, when he comments: "He (the author) prefers τελειοῦν and τελείωσις , not on account of their associations with the sacerdotal consecration of the O.T. ritual, but in order to suggest the moral ripening which enabled Jesus to offer a perfect self-sacrifice, and also perhaps with a side-allusion here to the death association of these terms."(2).

In opposition to this ethical understanding of the term Kaesemann proposes another view (3). According to him, he is "perfect who arrived at heaven, viz. who shares in the heavenly gift already on earth. An ethical development to perfection is not implied in this passage (2,10), nor in 7,28. This is also true in 5,7ff.

---

(1) H.Windisch, op.cit., pp.23f., 44f.
(2) J.Moffatt, op.cit., p.67.
(3) E.Kaesemann, op.cit., pp.84ff.

τελειοῦν and τελειωθείς are to be understood only from the heavenly man, who has come down on earth (cf.Phil 2,7f.). By this term a difference of quality against nature is expressed. Instead of sovereignty, he must practice the obedience. Instead of glory he is put under the earthly suffering. The obedience of Jesus indicates, therefore, a station on the way from and to heaven. τελειωθείς , on the other hand, represents a qualitative change of being in which the sphere of humiliation is left behind. Thus Kaesemann says: "Vollendet ist derjenige, der in den Himmel zurueckversetzt wird, wie er vom Himmel stammt. Gehorsam und Vollendung sind nicht die beiden Pole einer irdischen Entwicklung, sondern zwei kontrastierende und uebereinander gelagerte Stufen auf dem Wege des Himmelmenschen, der als solcher in der Gnosis ἀνὴρ τέλειος heisst."(1).

Over against Kaesemann Dibelius sees that the group of the words (τελειοῦν ,2,10; τελειωθείς,5,9; τελειωτής ,12,2) are related to Christ's "consecration"(Weihe). So he says on 2,10: "Ihm (sc.Christus) 'durch Leiden die vollendende Weihe zu erteilen' war Gottes Absicht."(2).

---

(1) E.Kaesemann,op.cit.,p.86-7.
(2) M.Dibelius, Der himmlische Kultus nach dem Hebraeerbrief, ThBl.1942,pp.1ff. A typed copy of the article was made available to the present writer by the courtesy of Prof. Erich Dinkler of Yale.
Cf. Calvin ad loc.: "Nam ostendit apostolus hoc ipsum (sc. Christi humilitationis) debere filio Dei esse honorificum, quia ita consecratus sit dux salutis nostrae."

Now in Mandaean literature the term like "perfection" (Vollendung) and "the perfected ones" (die Vollendete) are used very often. Heaven is the house of the perfected, toward which the soul as a sharer of the perfected one goes its way.

"Gar lange harrte ich (sc.der Sohn des Lichtkoenig) aus
und wohnte in der Welt,
bis mein Mass voll war.
Mein Mass war voll, und meine Zahl
da ging her und kam zu mir mein Helfer.
Er holte mich weg aus ihrer Mitte,
hob mich empor und richtete mich im Hause der Vollendung
auf." (Ginza, p.463,13ff.).

"Heil den wahrhaftigen und glaeubigen Vollkommenen, die dich erkannt und erschaut haben; sie steigen siegreich empor und schauen den Ort des Lichtes." (Ibid.,p.14,19f.).

"Die Seelen scheiden aus ihrem Koerper und steigen zum Licht empor. Denn es ist den Vollkommenen und Glaeubigen bestimmt, dass sie bei jenem Scheiden aus ihrem Koerper scheiden." (Ibid.,p. 45,23ff.).

As is evident from these quotations, the Gnosis speaks not only of the future "perfection", but the Gnostics are already "perfect" (τέλειος). They are already sharing in the heavenly power here on earth.

These and other passages of the Gnostic literature (1) support

---

(1) The house of perfection (das Haus der Vollendung): Ginza,pp. 5,10;69,37;275,14;283,5;300,34;333,26;353,8;463,18;467,17;546,1f.; 547,5ff.;565,8f.;593,27f.

The prefected ones (die Vollkommene,Vollendete): Ginza,pp.7,5f.; 8,25f.;10,11ff.;14,19f.;16,24f.;18,33;19,24ff.;22,9f.23f.28f.42f.; 26,37,etc.

Literature: J.Koegel,Der Begriff τελειοῦν im Hebraeerbrief, ThSt. M.Kaeler dargebracht,1905; Th.Haering, Monatsschrift fuer Past.-Theologie,1921; E.Riggenbach, Hebraeerbrief, Zahn Commentary, 1923,184ff.; O.Michel, Die Lehre von der christlichen Vollkommenheit nach der Anschauung des Hebraeerbriefes, ThStKr. 1934-5; M.Dibelius, Der himmlische Kultus nach dem Hebraeerbrief, ThBl.1942.

us to understand τελειοῦν and τελειωθείς as Kaesemann does. These terms in our passages (2,10;5,9;7,28) express a stage of the "way" of the Son from heaven down to earth and from earth up to heaven.

πολλοὺς υἱοὺς εἰς δόξαν ἀγαγόντα :

Most of the commentators relate ἀγαγόντα to God (1). With

---

(1) H.Windisch,op.cit.,p.23: "Das aoristische Partizip ἀγαγόντα faellt auf, es muss doch Zweck und Folge des τελειῶσαι darstellen. ... Man muss das Zeitverhaeltnis unbestimmt lassen: ἀγαγόντα bezeichnet das allgemeine Vorhaben Gottes, dem das τελειῶσαι dient."
J.Moffatt,op.cit.,pp.30-1: "Ἀγαγόντα is devoid of any reference to past time. The aorist particle is used adverbially, as often, to denote 'an action evidently in a general way coincident in time with the action of the verb, yet not identical with it.' ... It is accusative instead of dative, agreeing with an implied αὐτόν instead of αὐτῷ , by a common Greek assimilation. The accusative and infinitive construction prompted ἀγαγόντα instead of ἀγαγόντι . Had ἀγαγόντα been intended to qualify ἀρχηγόν , πολλούς would have been preceded by τόν ."
O.Michel,op.cit.,p.78: "In welchem Verhaeltnis steht das Partizip ἀγαγόντα zu τελειοῦν ? Die Deutung, dass Gott etwa viele Soehne zur Herrlichkeit fuerhrte, ehe Er den Herzog der Seligkeit vollendete (vulg), ist nicht zu halten. Gott hat viele Soehne zur Herrlichkeit zu fuehren begonnen (ingressiver Aorist), indem Er den Herzog der Seligkeit durch Leiden vollendete. Die Gleich- und Beiordnung von Partizip und Verb ist ausserordentlich interessant. Sehr fein erklaert Fr.Bleek: 'Ein Epitheton Gottes: Er, der so viele Soehne zur Herrlichkeit fuehren wollte' (II,1,295). ἀγαγόντα auf Christus zu beziehen, duerfte den Inhalt der schwierigen Satzkonstruktion noch kuenstlicher und umstaendlicher machen. Der ingressive Aorist ἀγαγόντα enthuellt den goettlichen Plan: die δόξα des Sohnes (2,7.9) soll die δόξα der Menschen werden. πολλοὺς υἱοὺς εἰς δόξαν ἀγαγόντα duerfte tatsaechlich ein 'Epitheton Gottes' sein, und zwar aus der palaestinisch-urchlistlichen Theologie."
Vulgata: Decebat enim eum, propter quem omnia, et per quem omnia, qui multos filios in gloriam adduxerat, auctorem salutis eorum per passionem consummare.
Calvin: Decebat enim eum,propter quem omnia, et per quem omnia, quum multos filios in gloriam adduceret, ducem salutis eorum per passionem consecrare.
R.S.V.: For it was fitting that he, for whom and by whom all things exist, in bringing many sons to glory, should make the pioneer of their salvation perfect through suffering.

Kaesemann and Delling we will relate the word to the Son (1). As Delling says, ἀγαγών indicates the one who had begun to lead (ao. ingressivus) through his activity even unto the cross (2). Or ἀγαγών is perhaps aorist participle of identity (3).

From the foregoing exposition we may interpret 2,10 as follows: As the leader the humiliated Son has begun to lead many sons to the heavenly glory. Being the leader of the sons to the "perfection", he becomes himself the object of God's action of perfection. This perfection of the Son himself occurs in his qualification as the mediator of salvation. This perfection corresponds to that of the sons through him. The perfection is the exaltation to heaven, as it is evident from "leading many sons to the glory". Christ can, however, be perfected only on the way of suffering, because only through suffering he can sympathize with the sons, i.e. he can become ἁγιάζων and the sons become ἁγιαζόμενοι sharing in the perfection of the Son. "We" see all this was fitting to God (ἔπρεπεν αὐτῷ), who is the creator and the aim of the universe. Thus the salvation-work of Christ is put under the will of God. As Michel puts it, "Es widerspricht keineswegs der Ehre und Wuerde Gottes, dass Jesus gerade diesen Weg geht. Im gegenteil, es gab keinen anderen Weg der Erloesung als nur die Fleischwerdung und

---

(1) Cf.E.Kaesemann,op.cit.,p.89, note 4; W.L.Knox, The "Divine Hero" Christology in the New Testament, in HThR.October,1948,p.234.
(2) G.Delling in ThWB.I,p.486: "Heb 2,10: Christus ist ἀρχηγὸς τῆς σωτηρίας, und zwar insofern, als er viele Brueder zur errlichkeit, zum Lichtglanz fuehrt, der das Ende der σωτηρία ist." Cf. Ibid.,note 3.
(3) Cf.Bl-Debr., § 339,1.

Leiden."(1) Here we see that notwithstanding of the Gnostic background, the author has definitely severed himself from its influence and kept the kerygma genuinely Christian. It was fitting that God should make the leader of their (sc. of the sons) salvation, who has begun to lead many sons to the glory, perfect through suffering (2).

2,11:

The word ἁγιάζειν belongs almost exclusively to the Biblical and therewith influenced Greek (3).

In the Septuagint this word is used in rendering קדש in its various forms (4), so that ἁγιάζειν occupies its seat in the cultic life.

1. To make a thing fitting to a cultic use: e.g.Ex 29,27: "You shall consecrate the breast of the wave offering." (καὶ ἁγιάσεις τὸ στηθύνιον ἀφόρισμα: וְקִדַּשְׁתָּ אֶת חֲזֵה הַתְּנוּפָה); 29,37. 44.etc.

2. To consecrate (weihen) or sanctify (heiligen) a person, viz. to bestow him a cultic character: Ex 28,41: "You shall consecrate them (sc.Aaron and his sons) that they may serve me as priest (ἁγιάσεις αὐτούς, ἵνα ἱερατεύωσίν μοι: וְקִדַּשְׁתָּ אֹתָם וְכִהֲנוּ לִי), etc.

---

(1) O.Michel,op.cit.,p.77.
(2) Cf.5,9;7,28.
(3) Philo, Leg All. i,18: τὴν ἑβδόμην (sc.ἡμέραν) ἡγίασεν (sc. ὁ Θεός). Spec Leg. i.167: πειρᾶσθαι δ' ὅλην (sc.ψυχὴν) δι' ὅλων σκηλίδωτον ἁγιάζειν.
(4) Qal: Ex 29,21;30,29,etc.; Niph'al: Ex 29,43;Lv 10,3,etc. Piel: Gn 2,3,etc.; Hiph'il: Lv 27,16,etc.

The same usage can be found in the New Testament.

1. To consecrate a thing: Mt 23,19: τὸ ἁγιάζον τὸ δῶρον ; 1 Tim 4,4f.: πᾶν κτίσμα θεοῦ ---- ἁγιάζεται.

2. To consecrate, sanctify a person (through baptism by water or by the blood of Christ): 1 Cor 6,11: "You were washed, you were consecrated (ἡγιάσθητε), you were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God." (1); Eph 5,25f.: "... Christ loved the church and gave himself up for her, that he might consecrate her, having cleansed her by the washing of water with the word."(2); Heb 13,12: "Jesus also suffered outside the gate in order to consecrate (ἁγιάσῃ) the people through his own blood."; cf.10,10.29. To consecrate a person through a touch with the sanctified: 1 Cor 7,14: "For the unbelieving husband is consecrated through his wife, and the unbelieving wife is consecrated through her husband." Cf.Heb 10,14;Acts 20,32;26,18;Rom 15,16.

3. To esteem someone or something as holy: 1 Pet 3,15: "But in your heart reverence (ἁγιάσατε) Christ as Lord"; Mt 6,9 (Lk 11, 19): ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου.

The word ἁγιάζων in our passage is used in the second meaning above mentioned. Christ consecrates his people by offering himself (προσφορά,10,10.14), i.e. through "baptism" by his own

---

(1) Cf.H.Lietzmann, An die Korinther I,4 ed.,1949,ad loc.;E. Dinkler, Rechtsnahme und Rechtsverzicht bei Paulus, Zur Exegese von 1 Kor 6,1-11,in Festschrift fuer Prof.Ken Ishiwara zu seinem 70.Geburtstag, Tokyo,1952,p.264.

(2) M.Dibelius, An die Epheser,3 ed.,1953,p.93: "5,26 ist von der Taufe die Rede; die Vorbedingung dieser 'Reinigung' ist die Selbsthingabe Christi; also steht der Gedanke an die Todestaufe s.Rm 6,4 Col 2,12 auch hier im Hintergrund."

blood. His blood shed once for all on the cross is the means of the atonement for them (13,12).

The people as ἁγιαζόμενοι are thus already consummated(τέλειοι). Christ as the leader is at the same time the one who makes his people perfect. He guides the people to the heavenly consummation as their aim. By offering his body and blood he made his people to share in his own consummation and showed himself as the one who perfects.

ἐξ ἑνός : εἷς is not to be related to Adam (1), or to Abraham (2). The word rather indicates God (3), because the divine function of "consecration" (ὁ ἁγιάζων) points toward the divine, and not human origin. Both the one who sanctifies and the ones who are sanctified are from God. ὁ ἁγιάζων and οἱ ἁγιαζόμενοι are distinguished, but they are also related as "brothers" (ἀδελφοί μου,2,12). Thus the sonship and the brotherhood express their relationship to God and to each other. This is further expounded through the quotations from Ps 22,23 LXX and Is 8,17.18 in vv. 12-13.

This relationship of sonship and brotherhood between the redeemer and the redeemed can also be seen in the Gnostic literature.

1. The salvation concerns primarily with "tribe" (Stamm), and not individuals.

---

(1) Otto Procksch in ThWB.I,p.113.
(2) E.G.Bengel,Gnomon,ad loc. Moffatt takes the expression as neuter: ἐξ ἑνός ,sc. γένους ("of the same spiritual origin"),op. cit.,ad loc.
(3) B.F.Westcott, H.Windisch,O.Michel,E.Kaesemann. Also cf. C.Spicq,L'Épître aus Hébreux,II,1953,pp.40f.

"Mich hat das Leben gesandt;
Ich bin hergekommen, um siegreich den Stamm in die Hoehe zu bringen." (Ginza,p.336,19ff.).

"Wir wollen den Stamm des Lebens aufheben..."(Ibid.,p.140,32f.).

2. The sonship and the brotherhood of the redeemer and the redeemed.

"Nimm sie (sc.die Uthras, die Soehne des Lichtes) in die grosse Gemeinschaft,
damit sie im Hause des Lebens ihren Stand erhalten." (Ginza,p.302,16f.).

The soul speaks to her guide:
"Wenn es euch, meine guten Brueder, beliebst,
fuehret mich mit euch in euren Geleit.
Ich will eine Gesellschaft den Guten,
ein Geleit den Glaeubigen sein." (Ibid.,p.541,11ff.).

"Denn die Brueder im Fleische vergehen,
doch die Brueder in Kusta bestehen." (Ibid., p.20,14) (1).

(The colt opened his mouth and spoke to Thomas:) "Thou twin (ὁ δίδυμος) of Christ..."(2).

"The Lord said to him (sc.the bridegroom): I am not Judas which is also called Thomas, but I am his brother."(3).

This is what Kaesemann calls the Gnostic teaching of συγγένεια between the redeemer and the redeemed. Here the redeemer and the redeemed are identified as the members of the same heavenly world. Both of them are thought to be originated from one substance,i.e. the light (4).

---

(1) Cf.Ibid.,p.5,note 12: "In Kusta 𐡊𐡔𐡈𐡅 ist Wahrheit, Wahrhaftigkeit, der wahre Glaube, auch Treue und Aufrichtigkeit im Verhalten der Glaeubigen der hoechsten Wesen gegenueber wie einander."
(2) Acts of Thomas, chap.39,transl. by M.R.James.
(3) Ibid.chap. 11.
(4) Cf.E.Kaesemann,op.cit.,pp.56ff.,91; R.Bultmann, Theologie des N.T.,1953,p.177.

Even if we could assume this Gnostic teaching of συγγένεια as the background of our passage, we have to realize that the author of Hebrews has corrected the tradition of myth at a decisive point in order to keep up his Christian scopus. That is "ἐξ ἑνός". In the Gnostic myth both the redeemer and the redeemed are one in their preexistence in the heavenly world. Because they are of one substance, the light, they are brothers. This "naturalism" of myth is corrected and broken down in our passage by "ἔπρεπεν" (2,10). The relationship between Christ and his people is grounded in the divine will. This is also true with regard to the process of salvation by Christ: "It was fitting that God should make the leader of their salvation .... perfect through suffering." The author may have used some elements of the myth in so far as this myth could explain the "way" of Christ to the surrounding Hellenistic world. At the same time, however, he took care that this "way" might really be that of Christ, and not that of mythical phantasies. Thus the author of Hebrews "historizes" (vergeschichtlicht) a mythical pattern in referring it to Jesus of Nazareth, in using it for an explanation of Jesus as Christ. He finally de-mythologizes the Gnostic myth.

III

2,14-15: Ἐπεὶ οὖν τὰ παιδία κεκοινώνηκεν αἵματος καὶ σαρκός, καὶ αὐτὸς παραπλησίως μετέσχεν τῶν αὐτῶν[T], ἵνα διὰ τοῦ θανάτου καταργήσῃ τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τὸν διάβολον, καὶ ἀπαλλάξῃ τούτους, ὅσοι φόβῳ θανάτου διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ζῆν ἔνοχοι ἦσαν δουλείας (1).

Here a phase of the Christ's "way", viz. the Incarnation, is described. As Westcott puts it, "the full connexion of 'the Son' and 'the sons' was realized in the Incarnation with a twofold object: 1) To overcome the prince of death (v.14), and 2) To establish man's freedom, destroyed by the fear of death. (v.15)" (2). What was said in verse 10: "For it was fitting that he ... should make the pioneer of their salvation perfect through suffering', is now expounded in its soteriological significance. The Son of God assumed human nature that he might, by dying, conquer the prince of death and deliver man, who is enslaved by the fear of death, through his life.

αἷμα καὶ σάρξ : the phrase expresses man in his frailty,

---

(1) αὐτῶν[T] :
1) αὐτῶν παθημάτων.... D* d sy^{Pal} Eus^{Pt}
2) αὐτῶν ..... 𝔓 𝔎
The weight of MSS is on the second reading. παθημάτων was perhaps added to round out the theological implication of the passage. Hence the second reading seems more probable.
(2) B.F. Westcott, op.cit., p.52.

human nature, humanity. This usage is Biblical, Judaistic and Hellenistic (1). The common order: σάρξ καὶ αἷμα, בָּשָׂר וָדָם appears in Mt 16,17; 1 Cor 15,50; Gal 1,16 (2).

κοινωνεῖν and μετέχειν are practically synonymous: to have in common, participate in (3). These two words, however, are used here in different senses. κοινωνεῖν is used in the perfect tense being valid at present. It expresses that human nature is the common lot of humanity, while μετέσχεν (aor.) indicates the one act of assumption of this nature by the Son. This assumption does not indicate the merely outward likeness between the Son and the sons, but rather the equality (or identity) of human nature, which has death as its end. This μετέχειν of Jesus, therefore, corresponds to the being of Christians as μέτοχοι (3,1.14). Because Jesus shared with us in our nature, so we can become the sharers of the exalted one (4).

---

(1) Cf. Sir 14,18 LXX: γενεὰ σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος ("generation of flesh and blood", Charles).
Philo, Rer Div Her. 57: αἵματι καὶ σαρκὸς ἡδονῇ ζώντων ("of those who live by blood and the pleasure of the flesh").
(2) Cf. Str-B. I,p.730: " σάρξ καὶ αἷμα - בָּשָׂר וָדָם haeufige Umschreibung fuer 'Mensch', meist...im Gegensatz zu dem unvergaenglichen Gott."
(3) Cf. Moult-Mill.pp.350f.;H.Hanse on μετέχειν in ThWB. II, p.831: "Hb 2,14: aus der goettlichen Welt stammend nimmt er teil an der Fleischlichkeit, gemeinsam mit den Menschen (beachte die voelige Synonymitaet mit κοινωνεῖν)."
κοινωνεῖν : Rm 12,13;15,27;Gal 6,6; Phil 4,15; 1 Tim 5,22; Heb 2,14; 1 Pet 4,13;2 Jn 11.
(4) Cf. E.Kaesemann,op.cit.,p.98.

καταργέω : In the New Testament the word is used mostly in Pauline writings (1). Its primary meaning is to leave unemployed, or idle, to make useless: καταργεῖν τὴν γῆν ,Lk 13,7. Then it means to make utterly ineffectual, to make of no effect, abolish, etc.

1 Cor 1,28: "To bring to nothing things that are."(R.S.V.).
Eph 2,14f.: "(Christ) has broken down the dividing wall of hostility, by abolishing in his flesh the law of commandment and ordinances."
Rom 3,31: "Do we then overthrow the law by this faith?"
Gal 3,17: "The law....does not annul a covenant previously ratified by God, so as to make the promise void."
2 Tim 1,10: Our Saviour Christ Jesus, who abolished death and brought life and immortality to light through the gospel."

In this latter passage the word καταργεῖν is used to express that the power of death which is hanging over the life of "natural" man was taken away, abolished. This thought is fully expressed in our present passage. Through Christ's death the one who has power over death was made of no effect; the devil was deprived of his power.

τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου, τουτ' ἔστιν τὸν διάβολον:
Here the origin and the reason of death is understood in a mythological way. In 1 Cor 15,26 death is hypostatized as a demonic person (ἔσχατος ἐχθρὸς ὁ θάνατος). Here in our passage the devil is expressed as the prince of death. Thus the origin of

---

(1) 27 times in the New Testament (25 in Pauline writings, 1 in Lk and 1 in Heb).

death is personified as the devil (1). What is expressed by this mythological formula is the understanding of death opposed to life as the essence of God (2). This devil has power over death. Death is subjected to him. The devil uses death as his tool and death renders him services.

We may perhaps trace this understanding of death to the Wisdom of Solomon: death is not derived from God, but it was brought into the world by the devil (3). In Palestinian Judaism the angel of death מַלְאַךְ הַמָּוֶת appears in the form of a devil. Here the devil, or satan as the angel of death, is understood as an executive of God's penal sentence on sins. Resch Laqisch said: "Der Satan, der boese Trieb und der Todesengel sind identisch." (4). Paul acknowledges also this power of the devil (1 Cor 5,5;10,10). This line of thought is, however, different from that which is developed by Paul himself: death-sin-the law. "The sting of death is sin, and the power of sin is the law."(1 Cor 15,56).

---

(1) With διάβολος the Septuagint rendered שָׂטָן. In the New Testament διάβολος and σατανᾶς are used almost synonymously. Cf. W. Foerster on διάβολος in ThWB.II,pp.70-71;78.
διάβολος : Mt 4,1.5.8.11;13,39;25,41;Lk 4,2.3.6.13;8,12;Jn 6,70; 8,44;13,2;Acts 10,38;13,10;Eph 4,27;6,11;1 Tim 3,6.7.11;2 Tim 2,26;3,3;Tit 2,3;Heb 2,14;Jas 4,7;1 Pet 5,8;1 Jn 3,8.10;Jude 9;Rev 2,10;12,9.12;20,2.10.
σατανᾶς : Mt 4,10;12,26;16,23;Mk 1,13;3,23.26;4,15;8,33;Lk 10,18;13,16;22,3.31;Jn 13,27;Acts 5,3;26,18; Rom 16,20;1 Cor 5,5; 7,5;2 Cor 2,11;11,14;12,7;1 Th 2,18;2 Th 2,9;1 Tim 1,20;5,15;Rev 2,9.13.24;3,9;12,9;20,2.7.
(2) Cf.R.Bultmann on ζωή in ThWB.II,pp.862ff. and θάνατος in ibid., III,pp.7ff.
(3) Sap 1,13: ὅτι ὁ θεὸς θάνατον οὐκ ἐποίησεν ...
Ibid.,2,24: φθόνῳ δὲ διαβόλου θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ...
(4) Str-B. I,p.144.

In our passage the annihilating power of death is conceived as already ruling over life. Life is an existence-to-death being overshadowed by death, which is still in the future. Men as men are "those who sat in the region and shadow of death." (Mt 4,16). Thus death keeps life in fear (φόβος) of death (1). The sentimental mode of human existence is "fear" or "anxiety". Through this fear man becomes conscious of his existence to death. However, he could not be free from this lifelong bondage (ἔνοχοι ... δουλείας) unless death itself be made of no effect upon him. This cannot be done by man himself. The emancipation must come from outside of man.

Now with Christ this emancipation (ἀπαλλάσσειν) is realized. Christ as ἀρχηγὸς τῆς σωτηρίας assumed human nature just as the children of man do (παραπλησίως) and died the death of the children of man. The prince of death looked as if he had won the game in bringing Christ, the Son of God to death. Through this very death, however, Christ conquered death, having made the devil of no effect, and thus delivered man from the lifelong bondage of the fear of death.

How Christ conquered death we can not know. Nor has the author developed the idea of the conquest of death by Christ anywhere in the Epistle, as St.Paul does. According to Paul, Christ was made a sinner for us by God, and was condemned as a sinner (2) and died for us. This means that God dealt with this world in Christ (3) and, in so far as such dealing of God took death upon itself in

---

(1) Cf.Rom 8,15: οὐ γὰρ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα δουλείας πάλιν εἰς φόβον.
(2) Cf.2 Cor 5,21; Rom 8,3;Gal 3,13f.
(3) 2 Cor 5,19.

Christ, this death has lost its annihilating power and has acquired a creative character of divine activity. Thus the resurrection is grounded in Christ's death (1). The author of Hebrews, however, alludes on the point just passingly and then he turns abruptly to the idea of the high priest.

Following W.L.Knox (2) W.Manson sees in our passage (2,10.15) a type of a "Hero-Christology"(3). He says as follows. "When the writer, in the first verse of the above passage (2,10-18), gives to the Son of God the title of 'Pioneer'(archegos) or Bahnbrecher of our salvation, there slips in the note of what may be definitely called a 'Hero-Christology'. Jesus is conceived as the Leader or Protagonist who, goint in front or at the head of His redeemed host, beats down the forces opposed to them, and so becomes the Founder or Inaugurator of their 'salvation'. This conception comes into clear light at the heart of the passage, where it is said that the purpose underlying the assumption by the Son of God of the children's blood and flesh was that He might 'defeat' the devil, who exercised his sovereignty in death, and by that stroke release all those who, like slaves, were cowed and bent low throughout their earthly existence beneath 'fear of death'.(4). According to Manson this type of Christology confronts us in St.Paul (1 Cor 2,6-8; Col 2,15), in the Fourth Gospel (12,31; 14,30), and in the Synoptic Gospels (Lk 10,18;22,31).

---

(1) Cf. R.Bultmann on θάνατος in ThWB.III,p.18.
(2) W.L.Knox, The "Divine Hero" Christology in the New Testament, HThR.Oct.,1948,pp.229ff.
(3) W.Manson, The Epistle to the Hebrews,1951,pp.102ff.
(4) W.Manson,op.cit.,pp.102f.

Consequently he thinks himself "justified in assuming that a type of Hero Christology, in which Jesus, like a Christian Heracles, is locked in mortal conflict with the powers of darkness and overthrows them by His Cross and Resurrection, or alternatively, is sent by God 'in the likeness of sinful flesh' and condemns sin in the flesh to death (Romans 8,3), belonged to the primordial substance of the world-mission theology of the Church." (1).

No one will perhaps deny that here in our passage a strange note slips in, whatever man may call it (2). But when we assume a Hellenistic-Gnostic background of the Christology in the Epistle, this note of "Hero-Christology" could be explained as one stage of the Christ's "way". According to the eternal decree of God, the Son assumed human nature going himself into the realm of "blood and flesh". He suffered just as man does and died. Through this death the Son conquered death itself and made the prince of death of no effect. This the Son did as the pioneer of the salvation of his people who follow after him this "way". The Son is here the "Bahnbrecher" of the way up to the glory in heaven.

---

(1) Ibid.,p.104.

(2) J.Moffatt,op.cit.,p.34: "This idea of crushing the devil as the wielder of death ~~is~~ is not worked out by the writer. He alludes to it in passing as a belief current in his circle, and it must have had some context in his mind; but what this scheme of thought was, we can only guess."

O.Michel,op.cit.,p.86: "Auffallend ist, dass die Entmaechtigung und Erloesung in Hb 2,14f. weder ~~in~~ kultischen noch in sonstigen aus dem Hb bekannten Kategorien geschildert wird, so dass die Vermutung unterstuetzt wird, dass wir eine feststehende theologische Ueberlieferung vor uns haben."

As is evident from this short sketch, the so-called Hero-Christology is not a dissonant note in the Christology of the Epistle, but rather it is a stage of the Son's "way".

According to Knox there is another type of Christology in the Epistle: the Wisdom-Logos Christology which he sees in Heb 1,3. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, therefore, is inconsistent, when he develops these two types of Christology. Accordingly Knox says, "the writer of Hebrews after opening with the emphatic statement that Jesus really is the Wisdom-Logos of Pauline Christology...., leaves the whole of this conception on one side and passes over to His character as the Messianic Son of Man ... the writer thus avoids the difficulty of harmonizing the two conceptions and passes over to an exposition of the person of Christ in terms of a saviour from heaven who saves mankind by suffering."(1).

With regard to this comment of Knox, we may say as follows. Firstly, to call the Christology in 1,3 the Wisdom-Logos Christology is going a little too far. As we have seen in our exegesis of this passage, the Christology here has its background in Philonic Logos as a great Light-Stream from the Source. This light-symbolism is also found in the Gnostic literature. Hence we have to assume a wider background of Hellenistic religious thoughts, from which Hebrews and Philo perhaps get their conceptions and patterns for developing their religious thoughts. Secondly, even if we do not go thus far, we are permitted to see here a pattern of

---

(1) W.L.Knox, op.cit., p.234.

Christology which is further developed in 2,5-18. In 1,3 the divine Sonship of Christ was described from the point of view of the eternal significance of the Christ-event. In our present passage, on the contrary, the humanity of the Son, i.e. the incarnation, suffering and death are developed in the soteriological context. Consequently, there is no discrepancy between the "Wisdom-Logos Christology" and "Hero-Christology", but rather they are two stages of the Christ's "way". There is, however, a dissonance in the Christology of Hebrews. It is a discrepancy between two soteriological aspects of the death of the Son: 2,14.15 and 2,16-18, which we shall see presently.

IV

2,16-18: οὐ γὰρ δήπου ἀγγέλων ἐπιλαμβάνεται, ἀλλὰ σπέρματος Ἀβραὰμ ἐπιλαμβάνεται. ὅθεν ὤφειλεν κατὰ πάντα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὁμοιωθῆναι, ἵνα ἐλεήμων γένηται καὶ πιστὸς ἀρχιερεὺς τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, εἰς τὸ ἱλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ λαοῦ. ἐν ᾧ γὰρ πέπονθεν αὐτὸς πειρασθείς, δύναται τοῖς πειραζομένοις βοηθῆσαι (1).

In the foregoing section (2,14-15) the incarnation was taken up in the context of destroying the power of death and delivering man from lifelong bondage. Now in the present section the

---

(1) ταῖς ἁμαρτιαῖς ..... A 23 pc

same event is taken up in another context, viz. that of the expiation for sins. The author shows how the incarnation was necessary by considering that 1) Christ is concerned with man and not with angels (v.16); 2) Christ's work of the redemption of man (v.17) and 3) Christ is able to help everyone who is in the conflict of life, since Christ himself suffered and was tempted (v. 18).

V.16:

ἐπιλαμβάνεται : In the Septuagint the word is used only in the middle voice having the meaning of the active voice: c.gen. to lay hold of, seize (thing or person); to cling to a person or thing, e.g. to the instruction, Prov 4,13 (ἐπιλαβοῦ ἐμῆς παιδείας : חֲזֵק בַּמּוּסָר). The word is used also of God, who seizes violently the suffering one, Job 16,8: ἐπελάβου μου : וַתִּקְמְטֵנִי ("thou hast shriveled me up",R.S.V.), but he also lays hold of the hands of his people to help them, Jer 38,32 LXX (31,32 Heb): ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιλαβομένου μου τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν: בְּיוֹם הֶחֱזִיקִי בְיָדָם ; of wisdom, who helpfully draws to herself those who are seeking after her and gives them a reliable footing, Sir 4,11: Ἡ σοφία υἱοὺς αὐτῆς ἀνύψωσεν καὶ ἐπιλαμβάνεται τῶν ζητούντων αὐτήν.

In the New Testament the word is used only in the middle voice, mostly with gen., but sometimes with acc.,e.g. Lk 9,47; 23,26 (1).

---

(1) ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι is used in the following passages: Mt 14, 31; Mk 8,23; Lk 9,47; 14,4;20,20.26;23,26;Acts 9,27;16,19;17,19;18, 17;21,30.33;23,19;1 Tim 6,12.19;Heb 2,16;8,9.

The meaning of the word corresponds to that in the Septuagint:

Mt 14,31: "Jesus immediately reached out his hand and caught him".
Mk 8,23: "And he took the blind man by the hand."

The word is used also in papyri in the middle voice: ἐὰν ἐπιλαμβάνηται τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῆς βοός (1).

With regard to the meaning of the word in our passage the Greek and Latin Fathers understood ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι , "to take hold of" in the sense of appropriating (2). Among the modern commentators C.Spicq follows the Fathers, understanding the word in the sense of "to assume". He translates the passage: "Car, cela va de soi, ce ne sont pas des anges qu'il assume, mais [c'est] une semence d'Abraham qu'il assume."(3). Following many of the commentators (4), we understand ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι in the sense of

---

(1) PSI.IV.366,4 (B.C.250-249) quoted in Moult-Mill.p.240.,
(2) Chrysostom: τί ἐστιν ὅ φησιν; οὐκ ἀγγέλου φύσιν ἀνεδέξατο ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπου.
Theodoret: ἐπειδὴ ἀνθρώπειον ἦν ὁ ἀνέλαβε διὰ μὲν τοῦ πάθους τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπέδωκε χρέος, διὰ δὲ τῆς τοῦ πεπονθότος σώματος ἀναστάσεως τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπέδειξε δύναμιν.
Oecumenius: οὐκ ἀγγέλων φύσεως ἐδράξατο οὐδὲ ἀνέλαβεν ἀλλ' ἀνθρωπίνης.
(Quotations from Westcott).
Cf.Vulgata: Nusquam enim angelos apprehendit, sed semen Abrahae apprehendit.
Calvin: Nusquam enim angelos assumit; sed semen Abrahae assumit.
(3) C.Spicq,L'Épître aux Hébreaux,II,1953,pp.46-47. He comments on the passage as follows: "Il faut donc, avec Seeberg et Delling (dans G.Kittel,Th Woert.art. ἐπιλ.) revenir a l'interprétation des versions (Vulf. apprehendit;Vieille Latine, assumpsit, suscepit; Peschitta) et de S.Jean Damascene, les médiévaux,S.Thomas, Luther, Cajetan,A.Catherin: Le Christ saisit et retient, c'est-à-dire assume la nature humaine et la fait sienne.",op.cit.,p.46. Cf.E.K.Simpson, Words Worth Weighing in the Greek N.T.,1946,pp.27f.
(4) M.E.Bengel, F.Delitzsch, B.F.Westcott, J.Moffatt, T.H.Robinson, H.Windisch and Michel. This enumeration is not exhaustive, but limited to those which are available to the present writer.

"to take hold of to help", "concern with", for the following reasons. Firstly, the sense of "to assume" is not consistent with γάρ in the same verse; secondly, it is also inconsistent with the plural ἀγγέλων (1); thirdly, if we take the word in this sense, then verse 16 will be a mere repetition of verse 14a; and lastly, the word corresponds to βοηθῆναι in verse 18.

ἀλλὰ σπέρματος Ἀβραὰμ ἐπιλαμβάνεται :

This clause is assumed to be taken from Is 41,8.9: σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ ... οὗ ἀντελαβόμην : וְזֶרַע אַבְרָהָם ... אֲשֶׁר הֶחֱזַקְתִּיךָ. σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ stands for the people of Israel(עַמּוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל, 2 Chron 20,7)(2). But does the phrase here mean Israel or humankind? Abraham is the holder of the promise, the archetype of faith and obedience (Heb 6,13ff;7,1ff.;11,8). So perhaps the author used this expression as an honorary term for men,i.e. children of faith. Or we may say with Moffatt: "The archaic phrase was perhaps chosen, instead of a term like ἀνθρώπων, on account of Abraham's position as the father of the faithful."(3).

Verse 16 says then: Christ's purpose is to assist men and not angels. Thus he lays hold of the children of faith in order to help and guide them to the end which he has himself reaches. Here the sphere of Christ's work is shown from which follows the necessity of the incarnation to redeem men.

---

(1) Cf. M.E.Bengel, Gnomon ad loc. Cf. also B.F.Westcott ad loc.
(2) Cf. Is 41,8;2 Chron 20,7; Jer 33,26; Ps 105,6(Heb).
(3) J.Moffatt,op.cit.,p.37.

V.17:

ὅθεν : unde sequitur ut...; daher kommt es, dass...; wherefore, whence... Since ὅθεν is the author's favourite term (2,17; 3,1;7,25;8,3;9,18;11,19) (1), we may perhaps infer from this fact his "logische Tendenz" (2). He is trying to show how the salvation work of Christ follows with inner necessity of the thing itself according to the divine economy (ἔπρεπεν --- αὐτῷ, δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα καὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ,2,10). Thus he develops the significance of the Christ-event against the background of the eternal economy of God (3).

ὤφειλεν : The word ὀφείλω means primarily to owe, have to pay or account for. This usage can be attested in classical Greek since Homer. τὸ καὶ μοιχάρι' ὀφείλλει, Od.8,332. ὀφείλω with infinitive is used in the sense of "to be bound", "to be obliged to do". ὀφείλλετε ταῦτα πένεσθαι, "ye ought to ...", Il.19,200. This usage can be seen in the Septuagint, papyri, Philo and the New Testament (4). ὤφειλεν in our verse is used

---

(1) ὅθεν appears 15 times in the New Testament: 6 times in the Hebrews, 4 times in Mt, 4 times in Lk and Acts, and once in 1 Jn.
(2) O.Michel,op.cit.,p.87,note 1.
(3) Cf. also the usage of δεῖ (2,1;9,26;11,6) and ὀφείλει (2,17; 5,3.12). Cf.W.Manson, Jesus the Messiah,1946,p.215.
(4) LXX: 4 Macc 11,15: ἀποθνήσκειν ὀφείλομεν ὁμοίως
Idem 16,19: ὀφείλετε πάντα πόνον --- ὑπομένειν διὰ τὸν Θεόν --
Papyri: POxy.VII 1021,14: διὸ πάντες ὀφείλομεν --- Θεοῖς πᾶσι εἰδέναι χάριτας , "therefore we all ought to give thanks to all the gods." (Moult-Mill. p.468).
Philo, Spec Leg. i,101: Ἐπεὶ δ' ἱερεὺς πολὺ πρότερον ἀνήρ ἐστι καὶ ταῖς πρὸς συνουσίαν ὁρμαῖς ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὀφείλει χρῆσθαι, "Since a priest is a man well before he is a priest and must and should feel the instinct for mating."
N.T.: ὀφείλω c.inf. is used 24 times out of 36 times in all.

in this sense: "debuit" , "... was bound".

κατὰ πάντα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὁμοιωθῆναι: "To be made like his brothers in every respect." As Windisch comments, " ὁμοιωθῆναι heisst nicht aehnlich-, sondern gleichgestaltet werden."(1). Acts 14,11 says: οἱ θεοὶ ὁμοιωθέντες ἀνθρώποις κατέβησαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, "The gods have come down to us in the likeness of man." Windisch quotes Artemidorus, Onirocriticus,1.13: παῖδα αὐτῷ γενήσεσθαι ὅμοιον κατὰ πάντα , and Moffatt Test. Naphtali,1,8: ὅμοιός μου ἦν κατὰ πάντα Ἰωσήφ (2). These and other passages of the New Testament quoted below (3) evidence the meaning of our phrase pretty clearly: the Son of God had to become a man resembling his brothers in reality, as one brother resembles another. So the incarnate Son is not a phantom or a docetic being like a man, but he is a man in reality just as others are. By this the author definitely establishes the humanity of the Son. Though the presentation is not polemic, we may perhaps see here the author's defense of the humanity of the Son against a docetic understanding of the preexistent Son of Gnosis (4). Thus the incarnation occurred with inner necessity (ὤφειλεν) according to the divine economy (ἔπρεπεν , 2,10). The following ἵνα shows the immediate definite end of this incarnation and εἰς τό the object to be reached.

---

(1) H.Windisch,op.cit.,p.26.
(2) Cf.H.Windisch and J.Moffatt, ad loc.
(3) Cf. Heb 4,15: πεπειρασμένον δὲ κατὰ πάντα καθ' ὁμοιότητα... Phil 2,7: ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος ... Rm 8,3: ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν πέμψας ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας ...
(4) Cf.1 Jn 2,22;4,2;5,1.5-8;2 Jn 7. Also cf.R.Bultmann,Theologie des N.T.,p.167.

ἵνα ἐλεήμων γένηται καὶ πιστὸς ἀρχιερεὺς τὰ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν:

Two readings are possible: 1) To take both the words ἐλεήμων and πιστός as qualifying ἀρχιερεύς : "that he might become a merciful and faithful high priest in the service of God (or, in things divine)" (Bengel,Calvin.Deliztsch,Westcott,Windisch,Moffatt, Robinson,W.Manson,Spicq and R.S.V.); 2) to take ἐλεήμων apart by itself as a predicate: "that he might become merciful and a faithful high priest" (Vulgata, Luther and Strathmann) (1). We will, however, take the first reading with the most of the modern commentators. For the second reading has an unseemly result that the Son of God becomes "merciful" only through his incarnation, while the first reading goes very naturally.

ἐλεήμων , pitiful, merciful is used since Homer on. οὐδέ μοι αὐτῇ θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι σιδήρεος,ἀλλ' ἐλεήμων. "And my (sc.Calypso) heart is not a block of iron. I know what pity is." (transl. by E.V.Rieu), Od.5,191. In the Septuagint the word is used mostly of God: ἐλεήμων γὰρ εἰμι (כִּי־חַנּוּן אָנִי), Ex 22,26; κύριος ὁ θεὸς οἰκτίρμων καὶ ἐλεήμων (יְהוָה אֵל רַחוּם וְחַנּוּן), Ex 34,6; Ps 85,15 (LXX), etc. Sometime ἐλεήμων is used also of man: τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖ ἀνὴρ ἐλεήμων (גֹּמֵל נַפְשׁוֹ אִישׁ חָסֶד),Prov 11,17,etc. In later Judaism

---

(1) Michel hesitates to decide for either one of these two readings "Die Uebersetzung ist nicht ganz eindeutig: 'damit er barmherzig wuerde und ein treuer Hohepriester' liegt stilistisch nahe, zumal das Motiv der Barmherzigkeit im Hb ausserordentliche Bedeutung hat. Man koennte zusammenziehen, wie es meist vorgezogen wird: 'damit er ein barmherziger und treuer Hoeherpriester wuerde'", op.cit.,p.87.

the word is used of God: 2 Macc 1,24;11,9;Ps Sal 5,2,etc. So it is with Philo too (Som.i,93). In the New Testament ἐλεήμων appears only in two passages in Mt 5,7: μακάριοι οἱ ἐλεήμονες ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐλεηθήσονται , and Heb 2, 17 (1).

The mercy is a virtue κατ' ἐξοχήν of the leader of "our" salvation, who is the high priest of the new covenant. While Philo forbids the high priest to mourn for his dead, that he may "have his feeling of pity under control and continue throughout free from sorrow"(2), Hebrews sees, on the contrary, the priestly virtue in compassion. If Christ had to be made like his brothers in every respect, participating in their evils and suffering death, it is in order to be able to sympathize with their destiny. He is merciful because of his participation in the common miseries of humanity (4,15). As Robinson puts it, "As man sees Him, He is merciful, compassionate, with full understanding of human nature, its weaknesses and possibilities. He does not look on us with the eye of a judge upon the bench, or with that of some superior order of being. He knows us, and looks on life, with all its dangers, temptations and hopes, just as we do — sympathizes with us." (3).

πιστός : The word is used in classical Greek since Homer. It is used in two meanings: passive and active. A. Passive: 1) of

---

(1) Cf. 1 Cl 60,1;2 Cl 4,3;Did 3,8.
(2) Philo, Spec Leg. i.115.
(3) T.H. Robinson,op.cit.,p.27.

persons: faithful, trusty, πιστὸς ἑταῖρος , Il.15,331,etc. πιστοὶ φύλακες , Hes Theog. 735; trustworthy, worthy of credit. 2) of things: trustworthy, sure, ὅρκια πιστός ,Il.3,269; deserving belief, creditable, πιστὸς ὑπόθεσις, Plat Phaed- 107b.

B. Active: believing, relying on, τινι πιστός , Soph Oed Col. 1031 obedient, loyal, τὴν τῶν'Αθηναίων χώραν οἰκείαν καὶ πιστὸν ποιήσασθαι , Xenoph Hist Graec. 2,4,30.

The same usage can be seen in the Biblical literature.

A. Passive: reliable, trustworthy (אֱמוּנָה). 1) of person: of man, πιστὸς δοῦλος , 2 Macc 1,2,etc. πιστοὶ ἄνθρωποι, 2 Tim 2,2; δοῦλε ἀγαθὲ καὶ πιστέ , Mt 25,21; of Christ, ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός , Rev 1,5; 3,14; of God πιστὸς ὁ Θεός , 1 Cor 1,9; 10,13; 2 Cor 1,18, etc. 2) of things, esp. of words. πιστὸς ὁ λόγος ,1 Tim 1,15; 3,1; οἱ λόγοι πιστοὶ καὶ ἀληθινοί , Rev 21,5;22,6.

B. Active: faithful, believing: μὴ γίνου ἄπιστος ἀλλὰ πιστός, Jn 20,27; πιστὸς τῷ Κυρίῳ, Acts 16,15, etc.

πιστός in our phrase means trustworthy, reliable, corresponding to נֶאֱמָן (1). Some scholars suppose that ἐλεήμων expresses mainly Christ's relation to man and πιστός the relation towards God (2). On the other hand, there are scholars who emphasize that both epithets qualify the ministry of the high-priest for the sake of humanity (εἰς τὸ ἱλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ λαοῦ) (3). Thus πιστός may signify Christ accomplishing his duty exactly in the sense of 1 Sam 2,35, where a "faithful priest" observes the law of sanctuary precisely (4).

By this incarnation Christ was constituted the high-priest forever, or he exercises his rôle of mediator perfectly. So the

---

(1) נֶאֱמָן (Niph. part. of [אָמַן , to confirm, support]) has the following meanings. 1) carried by a nurse, Is 60,4; 2) made firm, sure, lasting; place, בְּמָקוֹם נֶאֱמָן , Is 22,23; 3) confirmed, established, sure; kingdom, וְנֶאֱמַן בֵּיתְךָ וּמַמְלַכְתְּךָ , 2 Sam 7, 16; house, dynasty, בַּיִת נֶאֱמָן , 1 Sam 2,35; 4) verified, confirmed: words of God, וְעַתָּה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יֶאֱמַן נָא ,1 Kings 8,26; his precepts, נֶאֱמָנִים כָּל־פִּקּוּדָיו , Ps 111,7; covenant, וּבְרִיתִי נֶאֱמֶנֶת לוֹ , Ps 89,29; 5) reliable, faithful, trusty: persons, כֹּהֵן נֶאֱמָן ,1 Sam 2,35;22,14,etc.; the faithful God, הָאֵל הַנֶּאֱמָן , Dt 7,9.

(2) Bengel, Deliztsch, Windisch, Robinson and Michel.

(3) Westcott, Spicq.

(4) 1 Sam 2,35: "I will raise up for myself a faithful priest (ἱερέα πιστόν , כֹּהֵן נֶאֱמָן), who shall do according to what is in my heart and in my mind." (R.S.V.).

incarnation and the death are the preliminary condition which Christ has to realize in order to be a merciful and faithful high-priest. The author seems to see the function of the ministry of Christ glorified at the right hand of God (1).

ἱλάσκεσθαι :

ἱλάσκομαι is used since Homer on in the following meanings. 1) To appease: of god, θεὸν ἱλάσκεσθαι , Il. 1,386; σπουδῇσι θύεσσί τε ἱλάσκεσθαι (sc. Θεούς), Hes Op. 338. ἱλάσκεσθαι can also be used in parallel with θεραπεύειν. In Xenoph Oec. 5,20 τοὺς θεοῦς ἱλάσκεσθαι stands in parallel to τοὺς θεοὺς θεραπεύειν in the following sentence. This sense of the word can be followed down to later Greek. Thus ἱλάσκεσθαι is a cultic word. 2) But ἱλάσκεσθαι is also used with regard to man: to conciliate, Πάριοι δὲ Θεμιστοκλέα χρήμασιν ἱλασάμενοι διέφυγον τὸ στράτευμα , Hdt.8,112. 3) Passive future and aorist: to be merciful, gracious, ἱλάσθητι , be merciful (2).

In the Septuagint ἱλάσκομαι is used only 12 times. 1) In aorist passive voice with the meaning of "God had mercy, compassion", Ex 32,14; 2 Kings 24,4,etc. (3). 2) In middle form ἱλάσεται,

---

(1) Cf. C.Spicq,op.cit.,p.48.
(2) Of this usage of passive voice, cf. Bl-Debr. § 314,317.
(3) Ex 32,14: καὶ ἱλάσθη κύριος περὶ τῆς κακίας, ἧς εἶπεν ποιῆσαι τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ: וַיִּנָּחֶם יְהוָה עַל־הָרָעָה אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר לַעֲשׂוֹת ("And the Lord repented of the evil which he thought to to his people."R.S.V.).
2 Kings 24,4: καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν κύριος ἱλασθῆναι: וְלֹא־אָבָה יְהוָה לִסְלֹחַ ("And the Lord would not pardon ..."R.S.V.).

ἱλάση with the meaning of "to be gracious, pardon", 2 Kings 5, 18, etc.(1). ἐξιλάσκομαι is used often in the Septuagint. The word is the rendering of כִּפֶּר , which designates the priestly action: to make sin of no effect before God, to expiate. In this usage ἐξιλάσκομαι goes with περί , corresponding to עַל , or with ἀπό , corresponding to מִן (2). Beside this cultic meaning ἐξιλάσκομαι has also a personal meaning: to appease. In this case man is subject and God or man is object (3). ἐξιλάσκομαι means also to purify, absolve; to purify from the stain of sin (4).

Philo also used ἱλάσκομαι and ἐξιλάσκομαι. ἱλάσκομαι is used in the sense of "to appease": ἱλασάμενοι τὸ θεῖον ("having implored the favour of the Deity"), Plant. 162; τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς κάθαρσιν ἱλάσκεσθαι κριῷ νομοθετεῖ, ("he lays down that in the case of the holy things the purificatory

---

(1) 2 Kings 5,18: καὶ ἱλάσεται κύριος τῷ δούλῳ σου, לַדָּבָר הַזֶּה יְסַלַּח יְהוָה לְעַבְדֶּךָ

(2) E.g. Lev 16,34: καὶ ἔσται τοῦτο ὑμῖν νόμιμον αἰώνιον ἐξιλάσκεσθαι περὶ τῶν υἱῶν Ισραηλ ἀπὸ πάσων τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν: וְהָיְתָה־זֹּאת לָכֶם לְחֻקַּת עוֹלָם לְכַפֵּר עַל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מִכָּל־חַטֹּאתָם

(3) Mal 1,9: καὶ νῦν ἐξιλάσκεσθε τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν: וְעַתָּה חַלּוּ־נָא פְּנֵי־אֵל

(4) Ezek 43,22: καὶ ἐξιλάσονται τὸ θυσιαστήριον καθότι ἐξιλάσαντο ἐν τῷ μόσχῳ: וְחִטְּאוּ אֶת־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ כַּאֲשֶׁר חִטְּאוּ בַּפָּר

Idem 43,26: ἐξιλάσονται τὸ θυσιαστήριον: וְכִפְּרוּ אֶת־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ

propitiation should be made with a ram"), Spec Leg.1,234. So also with ἐξιλάσκομαι : τὸ γὰρ ἐξιλάσασθαι ἐπ' αὐτῶν τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ,("for this is 'to make atonement over them'"), Poster. 72.

In the New Testament ἱλάσκομαι appears only in two passages: Lk 18,13; Heb 2,17, while ἐξιλάσκομαι does not appear. Lk 18, 13: "But the tax collector, standing far off, would not even lift up his eyes to heaven, but beat his breast, saying 'God be merciful to me a sinner! '"(R.S.V.)(ὁ Θεός, ἱλάσθητί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ). Here ἱλάσκομαι is used in the same sense as Ps 78, 9(LXX) (1). In Heb 2,17 ἱλάσκεσθαι indicates the task of Jesus as the high-priest: to make propitation for the sins of the people.

As Westcott puts it, the essential conception here "is that of altering that in the character of an object which necessarily excludes the action of the grace of God, so that God, being what He is, cannot (as we speak) look on it with favour. The 'propitiation' acts on that which alienates God and not on God whose love is unchanged throughout."(2). The present infinitive ἱλάσκεσθαι (3) shows the eternal soteriological significance of one act of Christ for mankind (4).

---

(1) Ps 78,9 (LXX): καὶ ἱλάσθητι ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν ἕνεκα τοῦ ὀνόματός σου: וְכַפֵּר עַל־חַטֹּאתֵינוּ לְמַעַן שְׁמֶךָ

(2) B.F.Westcott,op.cit.,p.57.
(3) Cf. Bl-Debr. §§ 101,148,2.
(4) Cf. 10,12-14.

V.18:

ἐν ᾧ may be resolved into ἐν τούτῳ ὅτι (whereas, because), or into ἐν τούτῳ ὅ (wherein) (1).

The thoughts of this verse runs: For because he himself has suffered ..., he is able to help. "Only one who has learnt by suffering can rightly feel with another in his sufferings"(2) and help him (δύναται βοηθῆσαι). Thus the work of Christ as the high-priest depends upon the perfect sympathy of himself with humanity and his human experience. In other words, the high-priesthood of Christ depends upon his humanity in humiliation and sufferings.

As we have seen heretofore, the thought which is developed in our passage (2,5-18) may perhaps be rightly called "Atonement by Sympathy"(3). We may say with Robinson, "Now to this writer, beside temptation, there was only one experience common to all humanity - suffering in its various forms. So it is followed that the author of salvation must enter into this more than into any other element in human life. He must, though Himself sinless, suffer at least as much as the sinner, and know the meaning of the pain that follows sin."(4).

Here we have to raise a question with regard to the soteriological aspects of the Christ-event. In 2,14-15 the author sees

---

(1) Cf. Bl-Debr. § 219,2.
(2) B.F.Westcott,op.cit.,p.59.
(3) T.H.Robinson, Op.cit.,p.22.
(4) T.H.Robinson, op.cit.,p.24.

the significance of the death of Christ in the context of breaking the power of death (ἵνα διὰ τοῦ θανάτου καταργήσῃ τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου··). Then in 2,17 he suddenly changes the perspective of the same event and sees it in the context of remission of sins by means of the institution of the highpriesthood. Why this sudden change from "Hero-Christology" to "Priest-Christology"? W.Manson has taken up this question and explained it taking the destination of the Epistle into account. According to Manson this sudden change is because of the author's addressing the Jewish Christians and not ordinary Hellenistic Christians. He says, "If the writer of this Epistle was addressing not a Jewish-Christian audience but some other undifferentiated group representing the general body of the Church, why does his Christology at this point turn so completely and irreversibly in the direction of a hieratical interpretation of the work of Jesus Christ? ... Would the author have addressed himself in this way to any other than a Jewish-Christian audience whose full Christian development was being retarded by some kind of sentimental attraction or influence from the ancient Jewish sacraments of grace?"(1).

Against this proposition of Manson we may raise a counter question: why the "Hero-Christology" (2,14-15), if the recipients of Epistle were not "Hellenistic" Christians? Thus these two

---

(1) W.Manson, op.cit.,pp.104-5;cf.pp.113;116;130;133;140.

questions are counterbalanced. This shows that neither "Hero-Christology", nor "Priest-Christology" could clarify the problem of the destination without taking the other type of Christology into account.

Years before Manson R.Gyllenberg took up the same question from a slightly different angle. He presents the question in the following way. For the author of the Epistle the work of Christ has two essential sides. 1) The expiation for sins. 2) The overcoming of death. These two forces: sin and death, bind man to things earthly and temporal. 1) Expiation for sins is the task of the heavenly high priest. It is throughout a divine act. So it is a work from above. In the Godhead occurred all things, which are necessary for breaking down the dividing wall between God and man. 2) The matter is totally different with regard to the overcoming of death. Here man needs emancipation from below. In this context the death of Jesus is not evaluated as the offering for expiation, but it is an action of breaking through the way. Jesus went the way of mankind, through death beyond unto life. Thus he showed the way for others, emancipating them from the fear of death. The author presented these two sides in the picture of high-priest and left them in tension ... However, the core of these two aspects of the work of Christ is the death of Jesus. His heavenly offering is his death on earth. This death is, on the other hand, his victory over the devil and death. These two significances are melted together, so that the death of Christ

is observed at the same time as expiation for sins and the victory over death (1).

As it is evident from this presentation, Gyllenberg has rather clarified the problem of the implication of Christ's work than answered the question. Following the same line with Gyllenberg Ernst Kaesemann answers the question taking the background of the Epistle into account. According to him in 2,14-15 the death of Jesus is understood as the victory over the prince of death against the background of the Gnostic teaching of the death of the saviour casting off his material flesh. Thus the saviour is the first to break a hole through the matter, and he goes through this hole back to heaven. His brothers, when they die, follow the pioneer-saviour on this way to heaven. Nor this venture of the breaking through matter is taken up by the author in describing Jesus' death and its significance. This is the only soteriological motive of Gnosis: victory over the power of matter through the death of a saviour, and the emancipation of his brothers from this power. However, even though the saviour breaks a hole through matter preparing the way for his brothers, they are still under the burden of sin and not free from slavery. There remains one more thing to be done: remission of sins. This the author develops by the institution of the high-priesthood of Christ. Henceforward, the "Priest-Christology" becomes the central issue

---

(1) R.Gyllenberg, Die Christologie des Hebraeerbriefes, in ZSTh. XI,1934,pp.677ff.

of the Epistle. From this Kaesemann concludes that the author of Hebrews utilizes the Gnostic myth and at the same time criticizes it. The author uses the myth, in so far as he explicates the significance of the death of Christ as the victory over death, but at the same time the author criticizes the myth, in so far as he sees the significance of the same event in expiation for sins, which motive is not seen in Gnosis (1).

As we have shown before, when we see the soteriological significance of the Christ-event as the "way" of Christ, then these two aspects of the Christ-event are to be understood as two stages of this "way". As a man Jesus died in his humiliation, and thus broke the power of death emancipating his brothers from the lifelong bondage of fear. But when we see this death of Jesus in the context of high-priesthood, then this event is Christ's heavenly office after his exaltation. The expiation for sins is the significance of the event in this context of the high-priesthood. Projected on the "way" of Christ, this is the last stage of Christ's "way": exaltation and sitting at the right hand of God.

---

(1) Cf. E.Kaesemann, op.cit.pp.98ff.

Chapter 5

Christ as High-priest I

In 3,1-6 the author describes how the Son, the founder of the new economy, is higher than Moses, the founder of the old economy. "We" confess this Son, Jesus, as the apostle and high-priest, who is always faithful to Him who appointed him this post. Then the author proceeds to describe the promise of the divine rest toward which "we" the people of God (ὁ λαὸς τοῦ θεοῦ , 4,9) are wandering through this world (3,7-4,13). In this section the motive of the wandering people of God is developed, which Kaesemann thinks to be the secret basis of this Epistle. 4,14-16 takes again ἀρχιερεύς , which appeared in 2,17-18 and 3,1-2a, and introduces the readers to the theme of the Epistle: ἀρχιερεύς . 5,1-10 describes the characteristics of Levitical high-priest (vv.1-4) and compares them with what happened in Jesus Christ. Here the points are presented which are to be developed in the main part of the Epistle: 1) Christ is the high-priest after the order of Melchizedek (7,1-28); 2) he is made "perfect" and has become the source of eternal salvation (8,1-10,18).

In this chapter we shall observe the author's preparatory description of Christ's high-priesthood presented in 2,17-18; 3,1-2a; 4,14-16 and 5,1-10.

I

2,17-18:

As we have seen in the foregoing chapter, 2,17-18 shows us that the work of Christ as the high-priest depends upon the perfect sympathy of himself with humanity and his human experience. In other words, the high-priesthood of Christ depends upon his humanity in humiliation and sufferings. The incarnation is, therefore, the preliminary condition which Christ had to realize in order to be a merciful and faithful high-priest. Here we have to realize that the author's starting point for his description of Christ's high-priesthood is the solid historical fact of Jesus of Nazareth as the incarnate Son.

3,1-2a:

ἀπόστολος :

1. On Greek soil ἀπόστολος has a meaning which is scarcely similar to the New Testament usage of the word. Their similarity is nothing more than that of form. In the earlier days of Greece ὁ ἀπόστολος was related to navigation, especially in connection with war. It meant the sending of a fleet, originally to the battle. Then it came to mean the fleet which is sent; then, the naval expedition (Demosth. Or., 18,80). The word is used in its wider application in the meaning of a group of men, who are sent for a certain purpose, e.g. a crowd of colonists; also in the meaning of a commander of an expedition, e.g. admiral.

What is common to all these meanings of the word is its passive character of "being sent". In this passive character the adjective derivation of the word is shown long after it was substantialized (1). Chiefly because of this, the word could not become an expression for "messenger", "envoy" in the technical sense on Greek soil (2). The later use of the word by Christians meant, therefore, something new to Greek ears. This is also evident from the fact that Latins did not translate the word, but took it as foreign word into the terminology of the Church.

2. In PPar. p.41lf. stands, if the editor's restoration is right, an interesting passage: ἐπε]σταλκότων ἡμῶν πρός σε τὸν ἀπ[όστολον]. POxy.III,522 (ii/A.D.) uses ἀπόστολος in the sense of a ship: λόγος ἀποστόλου τριαδέλφου , "account for the ship of Triadelphus". The word is also used in the sense of a "bill of lading". POxy.IX,1197 (A.D.211): ὁπόταν τὰ ἐξ ἀποστόλων πλοῖα παραγένηται, "whenever the boats collected in accordance with the order of lading arrive"(Hunt's rendering quoted in Moult-Mill.) (3).

3. In the Mandaean literature "the envoy of the light", "the envoy of life", "the true envoy" are established expressions for the saviour.

> "Der Gesandte des Lichtes bin ich,
> den der Grosse in diese Welt gesandt hat.
> Der wahrhaftige Gesandte bin ich,
> an dem keine Luege ist". (Ginza,p.58,17ff.).

---

(1) The word is used as an adjective, e.g. Plato, Epistula VII,346a: ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πλοίοις πλεῖν.

(2) The only usage in this sense is Hdt 1,21: ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπόστολος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἦν.

(3) Cf. Moult-Mill.p.70.

"Der Gesandte des Lebens bin ich,
der Wahrhaftige, an dem keine Luege ist" (Ginza,p.59,15f.)(1).

4. The Septuagint uses the word ἀπόστολος only once, in 1 King 14,6: ἐγώ εἰμι ἀπόστολος πρός σε σκληρός: וְאָנֹכִי שָׁלוּחַ אֵלַיִךְ קָשֶׁה ("For I am charged with heavy tidings for you",R.S.V.). Here ἀπόστολος is the rendering of שָׁלוּחַ (Qal part.pass.of שָׁלַח)(2). ἀπόστολος is a messenger of God in a technical sense, in so far as the word expresses that Ahijah is commissioned with the words of God to the king's wife. In this rendering is shown the influence of שָׁלוּחַ , which describes the authorization of the prophet by God (3). Here the profane meaning of שָׁלַח , ἀποστέλλειν has disappeared before the theological meaning of the word. Hence ἀπόστολος gets its meaning.

5. This meaning of the word was further developed by rabbinic Judaism. Here the formula שְׁלִיחַ as a substantive has its place. We may find out here the nearest parallel to the New Testament ἀπόστολος.

The institution of שְׁלוּחִים is old and can be attested for the time after the Exile (2 Chron 17,7-9)(4), but perhaps it is even older.

---

(1) Erster Gesandte: Ginza,26,1;29,29;47,32,etc. Lauterer Gesandte: 16,5;26,23;32,38. Wahrhaftiger Gesandte: 58,19;59,1. Gesandter des Lebens: 28,12;59,15,etc. Gesandter des Lichtes: 57,33ff.,etc.
Bote: 166,27;171,7,etc. Bote des Lichtes:530,9,etc. Bote des Lebens: 18,12;431,22,etc.

(2) Cf.J.A.Montgomery, The Books of Kings (ICC),1951,p.271.

(3) Cf. שָׁלַח, ἀποστέλλειν as a terminus technicus for the sending of a messenger with a special mission. Cf. ThWB.I,399ff.: ἀποστέλλω

(4) 2 Chron 17,7-9: "In the third year of his reign he sent(שָׁלַח, ἀπέστειλεν) his princes, Ben-hail, Obadi'ah .... And they taught in Judah, having the book of the law of the Lord with them; they went about through all the cities of Judah and taught among the people." (R.S.V.).

What is common to the שְׁלוּחִים of all periods is its commission with a definite mission, which has to be carried out. So this word does not describe the fact of the sending of the commissioner, nor does it indicate the mission, but the establishment of the form of sending, i.e. the establishment of the authority of the sending. This is decisive for the qualification of שָׁלִיחַ no matter with what mission he is commissioned. So it is the same whether he is to proclaim the religious message (2 Chron 17,7-9) or to do some money business. The word is primarily not a religious, but a juridical conception.

The commissioner is at the same responsible for him who has commissioned him. The commissioner is, therefore, also the representative of the one who has commissioned him. He represents in his person the person and right of the one who commissioned him. The rabbis expressed this basic element of the institution with the sentence: שְׁלוּחוֹ שֶׁל אָדָם כְּמוֹתוֹ ("Der Abgesandte eines Menschen ist wie dieser selbst") (1).

This institution is not only between one and one, but many individuals can be sent as שָׁלִיחַ. Rabbis, who were sent by the central authorities to the whole diaspora, were considered as representatives of the whole Israel. For them שְׁלוּחִים became in its proper meaning a technical term. Their mission is, of course, many sided, but it is always enabled through the authority which stands behind them. Paul went to Damascus (Acts 9,1ff.) as שָׁלִיחַ of the central authorities.

---

(1) Cf.Str-B.III,p.2.

Among the rabbis, the one who is commissioned and authorized by God is also called שְׁלִיחַ . There are two groups of these men. The one is the order of priests, and the other is a small number of eminent personalities, such as Moses, Elijah, Elisha and Ezekial (1). The latter are שְׁלוּחִים of God, because through them things happened which are otherwise preserved for God: Moses made the water flow out of the rock, Elijah made the rain fall and raised the dead, etc.

6. In the New Testament ἀπόστολος(2) does not mean the act of sending, nor the object of sending, but it is an expression for a person who is sent, i.e. a fully authorized messenger. The Greek word retains only the form, while its meaning is defined by שְׁלִיחַ of the later Judaism. The identity of ἀπόστολος and שְׁלִיחַ is shown in Jn 13,16: οὐδὲ ἀπόστολος μείζων τοῦ πέμψαντος αὐτόν. ἀπόστολος here is just the rendering of שְׁלִיחַ , and it is juridically conceived in the meaning of "legally commissioned with the representation of the person and matter of the other."

Corresponding to שְׁלִיחַ, ἀπόστολος means the commissioner of a community. 2 Cor 8,23: ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν ("messenger of the churches", R.S.V.). Here Paul calls the men apostles who are going to Jerusalem with Titus bringing the gifts from Greek churches for the "saints". The same usage can be found in Phil 2,25. Here ἀπόστολος is not only a juridical conception, but also a religious one.

---

(1) Cf. Str-B.III,p.5.
(2) ἀπόστολος appears 79 times in the New Testament (problematic readings of Lk 9,1 and Acts 5,34 excluded). Mt:1;Mk:1;Lk:6;Jn:1; Acts:29;Pauline writings: 33; Heb:1;1 Pet:1;2 Pet:2;Jud:1;Rev:3.

Lastly ἀπόστολοι are called the carriers of the New Testament proclamation. At first the circle of the twelve, the so-called "Ur-apostle" (Acts 1,26; 1 Cor 15,5). They are sent by Jesus. The term is also used in a wider meaning of the earliest missionaries. Acts 14,4: οἱ ἀπόστολοι βαρναβᾶς καὶ Παῦλος (1).

Apostles were named and sent by Jesus with a mission. This apostolate was renewed by the commission of the resurrected Christ (2). Thus 1) apostles are the witnesses of the resurrection (cf.1 Cor 15, 8f.). 2) Besides the encounter with the resurrected Lord, the personal commission by the Lord seems to have been the only base of apostolate. But these apostles were at the same time missionaries. This is what distinguishes the New Testament apostolate from the Jewish שְׁלִיחַ-institute. 3) For the renewed apostolate the Spirit is indispensable. Through the Spirit, the community and the apostles received the certainty of Jesus' presence and his power (cf.Acts 2,14ff.). Through the Spirit the apostles received also the standard for what they should be and do. And through the Spirit the apostles were able to perceive what God was working through them.

Thus far it is obvious that the apostolate as a whole is based upon the will and commission of the resurrected Lord. Through the work of the Spirit, the apostles received this commission from the Lord. Through the work of the Spirit they are certain of Jesus' presence and of his power working in and through them (3).

---

(1) Cf.Rom 16,7;1 Cor 15,7.
(2) Cf.Mt 28,16ff.;Lk 24,48f.;Acts 1,8.
(3) Cf.K.H.Rengstorf on ἀπόστολος in ThWB.I,406ff.

7. In our present passage Heb 3,1 Jesus is named ὁ ἀπόστολος καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν . This use of ἀπόστλος is seen only in this passage and nowhere else in the New Testament. The word appears later in Justinus, Apologia I,12,9;63,10 and Pantaenus (1). K.H.Rengstorf takes up this passage and tries to explain the term along the line of later Judaistic conception of שלוח (2). As we have seen above, according to later Judaism the conception of the commissioner of God (שלוח) is also applied to an usual priest ("der 'gewoehnliche' Priest"). Rengstorf thinks that this understanding of the term can be traced in the close connection of ἀπόστολος and ἀρχιερεύς in 3,1. The absence of an article before ἀρχιερεύς shows also the unity of these two words. Thus he sees that in this unity of expression Jesus' absolute authorization both as to the word and to the work is set out (3). Hence Rengstorf declines to see here the formula of a Gnostic myth, i.e. the myth that the saviour of the end-time is the envoy himself. For the word ἀπόστολος is not used in

---

(1) In Apol I,12,9 Justinus called Jesus Christ τοῦ πατρὸς πάντων καὶ δεσπότου θεοῦ υἱὸς καὶ ἀπόστολος ὢν , and in Apol I,63,10 described him as ἄγγελος καὶ ἀπόστολος· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀπαγγέλλει ὅσα δεῖ γνωσθῆναι, καὶ ἀποστέλλεται, μηνύσων ὅσα ἀγγέλλεται (indirect quotation from Moffatt,op.cit.,p.41). Clemens had given in his "Hypotyposeis" concise explanations of all the canonical Scriptures naming Pantaenus his teacher. In this work Clemens says: "ἐπεὶ ὁ κύριος, ἀπόστολος ὢν τοῦ παντοκράτρος, ἀπεστάλη πρὸς Ἑβραίους ("..., since the Lord, being the apostle of the Almighty, was sent to the Hebrews, transl. by J.E.L.Oulton in Loeb Classical Library) (Eus Hist Eccl. VI,14).

(2) Cf.ThWB.I,423f.

(3) Ibid.,p.424: "..., so laege der einheitlich gebauten Wendung in ihren beiden Gliedern ein einheitlicher Gedanke zugrunde, der nur verschieden gewendet waere, der Gedanke der absoluten Autoritaet (ὁμολογία) auf Grund absoluter Autorisation zu Wort(ἀπόστολος) und Werk (ἀρχιερεύς)."

in the Fourth Gospel, where the Gnostic thoughts begin to appear, while the word appears in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where otherwise no trace of Gnostic thought is seen. Moreover, if we take ἀπόστολος in the Gnostic sense, then the unity of the expression for Jesus will be broken.

Against this interpretation of Rengstorf, we might say as follows. If our exposition of chapters 1 and 2 presented heretofore is correct, we may interpret Jesus' title ἀπόστολος from the general background of our Epistle. "To be a messenger" is an attribute of Gnostic "Urmensch". This we have examined above, when we have traced the usage of the term ἀπόστολος . The same usage can also be seen in the Acts of Thomas.

"Jesus Christ, Son of compassion and perfect savior, Christ, Son of living God,..., the ambassador that was sent from the hight."(1).

"Son of mercy, the Son that for love of man wast sent unto us from the perfect country that is above."(2).

As Rengstorf says, the Fourth Gospel does not use the word ἀπόστολος , yet we may note characteristic usages of ἀποστέλλειν and πέμπειν there. The Fourth Gospel uses ἀποστέλλειν in the meaning of God's sending of Jesus 17 times out of 28 times (3), e.g.

---

(1) Acts of Thomas,10 (transl. by M.R.James): ὁ πρεσβευτὴς ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕψους ἀποσταλείς.
(2) Idem,156: υἱὸς σπλαγχίνων, ὁ κατὰ φιλανθρωπίαν ἀποσταλεὶς ἡμὶν υἱὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ἄνω πατρίδος τῆς τελείας.
(3) Jn 3,17.34;5,36.38;6,29.57;7,29;8,42;10,36;11,42;17,3.8.18.21.23.25;20,21.
ἀποστέλλειν appears in the New Testament some 135 times. Its distribution is as follows. Synoptic Gospels and Acts: some 95; Jn: 28;Pauline writings: 4;Heb:1;1 Pet:1;1 Pet:1;1 Jn:3;Rev:3.

ὃν γὰρ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ θεοῦ λαλεῖ (3,34). The same usage can be seen in 1 John, e.g. ὁ πατὴρ ἀπέσταλκεν τὸν υἱὸν σωτῆρα τοῦ κόσμου (1 Jn 4,14) (1). πέμπειν is used in the Fourth Gospel in parallel with ἀποστέλλειν mostly in the form of ὁ πέμψας με (πατήρ), e.g. ἐμὸν βρῶμά ἐστιν ἵνα ποιῶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με καὶ τελειώσω αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔργον (Jn 4, 34) (2). This usage of the words shows that, though the substantive ἀπόστολος is not used in this Gospel, yet Jesus himself is understood as the envoy from God with His commission. Thus we may say that Jesus as ἀπόστολος is understood in the Epistle in the same way as in the Fourth Gospel. ἀπόστολος in our present passage is, therefore, applied not in the meaning of an "usual priest", as Rengstorf understands, but in the meaning of the "envoy", "messenger" sent by God into this world "at the end of the age" (3).

---

(1) Cf. 1 Jn 4,9.10.

(2) ὁ πέμψας με and ὁ πέμψας με πατήρ appear in the fourth Gospel 17 and 6 times respectively.
πέμπειν is used in the New Testament some 80 times. It is distributed as follows. Mt:4;Mk:1;Lk:10;Acts:12;Jn:33;other writings: 25.
Rengstorf comments on ἀποστέλλειν and πέμπειν as follows: "... dass im Johannesevangelium ἀποστέλλειν von Jesus da gebraucht wird, wo es sich um die Begruendung seiner Autoritaet in Gottes Autoritaet als der Autoritaet des fuer seine Worte und Werke Verantwortlichen und sich fuer ihr Recht und ihre Wahrheit Verbuergenden handelt, dass dagegen die Formel ὁ πέμψας με (πατήρ) dazu dient, die Beteiligung Gottes am Werke Jesu eben in der actio seiner Sendung festzustellen". (ThWB.I,404). Cf.R.Bultmann, Das Ev. des Joh.,1950,p.30,note 2.

(3) Heb 9,26. Cf.1,2. On ἀπόστολος, cf. E.Kaesemann,op.cit., p.95ff. Cf. also M.Dibelius, An die Kolosser, p.16.

ὁμολογία : "confession"(1).

The use of the word with κρατεῖν in 4,15 (κρατῶμεν τῆς ὁμολογίας) and with κατέχειν in 10,23 (κατέχωμεν τὴν ὁμολογίαν) suggests strongly that ὁμολογία may possibly be a confession-formula of the community (2). The expression in our present passage: κατανοήσατε τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ ἀρχιερέα τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν supports us to infer that both titles of Jesus, i.e. ἀπόστολος and ἀρχιερεύς might have their place in this confession-formula (3). In 13,15 ὁμολογεῖν seems to be used in the liturgical

---

(1) Cf.2 Cor 9,13: διὰ τῆς δοκιμῆς τῆς διακονίας ταύτης δοξάζοντες τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ὑποταγῇ τῆς ὁμολογίας ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ.
1 Tim 6,12: τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, εἰς ἣν ἐκλήθης καὶ ὡμολόγησας τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν ἐνώπιον πολλῶν μαρτύρων.
Ibid.,6,13: παραγγέλλω ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζωογονοῦντος τὰ πάντα καὶ χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ μαρτυρήσαντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν.
Heb 3,1: κατανοήσατε τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ ἀρχιερέα τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν.
Ibid.,4,14: ἔχοντες οὖν ἀρχιερέα μέγαν διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανούς, Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ κρατῶμεν τῆς ὁμολογίας.
Idem 10,23: κατέχωμεν τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀκλινῆ ....
Cf. also ὁμολογεῖν: Mt 10,32-33; Jn 9,22;12,42;Rom 10,9.10;1 Tim 6,12;Heb 13,15;1 Jn 4,15;2 Jn 6;Rev 3,5;Her sim IX,28,4.7.
Cf. R.Bultmann, Theologie des N.T.,pp.313f.;481.
In the Septuagint ὁμολογία is used as the rendering of נְדָבָה (freewill, voluntary offering, Deut 12,6.12 reading in $B^{(*)}$; Ezek 46,12; Amos 4,5) and תּוֹדָה (votive offering, Lev 22,18;Jer 51,LXX 44, 25). The use of the word in the meaning of "confession" is seen in 1 Ezra 9,8: καὶ νῦν δότε ὁμολογίαν δόξαν τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ τῷ πατέρων ἡμῶν ("And now make confession [G^{L}+ and] give glory unto the Lord, the God of our fathers", transl. given in Charles' "Apocrypha").
(2) Cf.A.Seeberg, Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit,1903,pp.142-151.
H.Windisch,op.cit.,p.30: " ὁμολογία hier und 4,14;10,23 ist ein in Worte gefasstes Bekenntnis, in dem die Heilsueberlieferungen und Heilserwartungen der christl. Gemeinde zum Ausdruck kamen..."
O.Michel,op.cit.,p.95:" ὁμολογία kann 1) Hinweis auf ein feststehendes Gemeindebekenntnis od. eine bestimmte liturgische Tradition sein, die unsere Leser des Heb vor Augen haben. Ἀπόστολος und ἀρχιερεύς sind dann schwerlich Begriffe u. Inhalt des Bekenntnisses, wohl aber Umschreibung u. Auslegung im Sinne des Heb. Fuer ein festes Bekenntnis sprechen Wendungen wie κρατεῖν τῆς ὁμολογίας

4,14; κατέχειν τὴν ὁμολογίαν 10,23.... 2) Es kann ein Hinweis auf eine 'feierliche Zusage' (Riggenbach), auf 'den sich selbst aussagenden Glauben der Gemeinde' (Delitzsch) sein."

C.Spicq,op.cit.,II,p.65: "Voilà ce que confesse publiquement et officiellement la foi chrétienne ... et en quoi se résume toute notre religion."

Cf. also H.Strathmann, op.cit.,p.89; cf,further the following literature. P.Feine, Die Gestalt des apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnisses in der Zeit des NTs,1925; Ev. Dobschuetz, Das Apostolicum in bibl.- theol. Beleuchtung,1932; G.Bornkamm, Ὁμολογία . Hermes 71,1938,p.377-93; Idem., Das Bekenntnis im Hebraeerbrief, ThBl. 1942; E.Kaesemann, Das wandernde Gottesvolk,1939,pp.105ff.; P.Carrington, The primitive Christian Catechism,1940; O.Cullmann, Les premieres confessions de foi chrétiennes,1943.

(3) E.Kaesemann,op.cit.,p.106. Against this proposition Strathmann says as follows: "Eine christliche Bekenntnisformel, die von Jesus als Hohempriester geredet haette, hat es nie gegeben."(op.cit.,p.89).

---

context. The indirect quotation of Ps 50 (LXX 49),14.23,which is said to be a cult-Psalm, may prove that the author of Hebrews used ὁμολογεῖν here in the liturgical context (1). According to Kaesemann, ὁμολογεῖν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ means nothing else than "die kultische Exhomologese des Kyrios", as it is seen most clearly in 1 Cor 12,3 (2). Hence he concludes that perhaps ὁμολογία in 3,1; 4,14 and 10,23 has its place in "der christlichen Gottesdienstfeier" and means the liturgy held there. The cult, he says,

---

(1) Ps 50(LXX 49)14.23: θῦσον τῷ θεῷ θυσίαν αἰνέσεως :
זֹבֵחַ לֵאלֹהִים תּוֹדָה

Arthur Weiser comments on this Psalm saying: "... ist der Ort des Psalms im Bundesfestkult naeher bestimmt .... Das Wesen dieses Kults liegt ... in dem demuetigen Bekenntnis der Gemeinde zum Lob Gottes V.14.23..."(Die Psalmen, Das Alte Testament Deutsch,1950,p.254). Cf.Also Hans Schmit, Die Psalmen, Handbuch z.A.T.,1934,p.97.

(2) E.Kaesemann,op.cit.,p.107. Cf.Rom 10,9;1 Jn 2,23;4,2f.15;2 Jn 7. Cf. also R.Bultmann, Theologie des N.T.,p.481.

is the only place where the community itself confesses and "zusammenspricht"(ὁμολογεῖν).

In his commentary on The First Epistle of Clement R.Knopf has shown that the title ἀρχιερεύς derives from the liturgy. ἀρχιερεύς appears in 36,1;61,3 and 64 in the liturgical context (1). For the author of this epistle Christ is ἀρχιερεύς τῶν προσφορῶν ἡμῶν. Christ brings the prayers of Christians, especially their community-prayer (Gemeindegebete) before God. The expressions προστάτης ("defender") and βοηθός ("helper") belong also to the liturgy. These facts show, as Knopf understands, that 1 Clement was not only moved by the Epistle to the Hebrews to take up these titles of Christ, but he found them in the liturgy, which lies before 1 Clement and Hebrews. (2). This study of Knopf's afford us further support for the idea that both ἀρχιερεύς and ὁμολογία have their proper seat in liturgy and thus ἀρχιερεύς in 3,1 fits into its place

---

(1) 1 Clem 36,1: "This is the way, beloved, in which we found our salvation, Jesus Christ, the high-priest of our offerings, the defender and helper of our weakness (Ἰησοῦν χριστόν τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν προσφορῶν ἡμῶν, τὸν προστάτην καὶ βοηθὸν τῆς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν)"

61,3: "O thou who alone art able to do these things and far better things for us, we praise thee through Jesus Christ, the high-priest and guardian of our souls (σοὶ ἐξομολογούμεθα διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ προστάτου τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ),through whom be glory and majesty to thee, both now and for all generations and for ever and ever. Amen."

64: "Now may God,... give unto every soul that is called after his glorious and holy name, faith, fear, peace,(patience..., that they may be well-pleasing to his name through our high-priest and guardian Jesus Christ, through whom be to him glory and majesty, might and honour, both now and to all eternity. Amen".

Cf.O.Cullmann, Early Christian Worship, transl. by A.S.Todd and J.B.Torrance,1953,p.13.

(2) R.Knopf, Der erste Clemensbrief,1920,pp.106f. Cf.P.Drews, Untersuchungen ueber die sogen. klementische Liturgie,1906.

very well (1).

Kaesemann argues that the peculiar use of ἀπόστολος as the title of Jesus in 3,1 can be understood from the liturgy. All liturgy leans upon the already fixed conceptions of current religious thoughts and favours peculiar ideas, even though they have grown up in foreign soil. Now, he continues, the Gnosis, with a rich resource of hymns, much influenced the development of primitive Christian worship. That this was the fact, is shown not only by the odes of the Apocrypha, but also by Phil 2,5ff., 1 Tim 3,16 and perhaps by the prologue of the Fourth Gospel (2). What gives to this proposition an important meaning is the fact that Phil 2,5ff. and 1 Tim 3,16 are closely related to the Christology of Hebrews and are rooted in the same religious tradition. Hence Kaesemann draws a probable conclusion that not only the primitive Christian community-liturgy is meant by ὁμολογία, but further, the Christology of Hebrews forms a worked out expression and interpretation of the liturgical community- ὁμολογία. Moreover, one could regard Phil 2,5ff.,1 Tim 3,16 and 1 Clem 36 as fragments of the liturgical tradition, in which the Christology of Hebrews also stands (3).

Though this proposition of Kaesemann's is merely a "hypothesis" (4), which is to be established through detailed researches, yet it opens at least a perspective for understanding our passage against its background.

---

(1) Cf.E.Kaesemann,op.cit.,pp.107f.; Michel,op.cit.,p.95,note 1.
(2) Cf.R.Bultmann, Das Evangelium des Johannes, Meyer's Commentary, 11ed., 1950,p.2.
(3) Cf.E.Kaesemann,op.cit.,p.108.
(4) Ibid.,p.109.

πιστὸν ὄντα τῷ ποιήσαντι αὐτόν:

ὁ ποιήσας αὐτον is used in the meaning of "the one who appointed him", as in 1 Sam 12,6: Κύριος ὁ ποιήσας τὸν Μωυσῆν καὶ τὸν Ἀαρών: יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה אֶת-מֹשֶׁה וְאֶת-אַהֲרֹן(1). Thus the word expresses the action by which the Father commissions the Son with His mission, to be His representative (ἀπόστολος) among men in order to carry out His eternal economy (ἀρχιερεύς). The Son "is now and always" (ὄντα) faithful (πιστός , נֶאֱמָן)(2) to the Father in carrying out his mission, "as Moses also was faithful in God's house."

From the foregoing expositions we are now able to interpret the passage 3,1-2a. It says: Therefore, holy brothers, who share in a heavenly call, consider Jesus, the apostle and high-priest of our confession; he is sent by the Father among men (ἀπόστολος) and appointed the high-priest in order to carry out the divine economy (ἀρχιερεύς), being ever faithful to his Father.

In 2,17-18 the humanity of the Son was expounded, while in 3,1-2a

---

(1) Cf.Mk 3,14: καὶ ἐποίησεν δώδεκα.
As Westcott comments, "the phrase is capable of two distinct interpretations. It may be understood (1) of the Lord's humanity, or (2) of the Lord's office"(op.cit.,p.75), since 1,3 excludes the idea that our author speaks of Christ himself as ποίημα , or κτίσμα. The first view is supported by Windisch, Michel and Strathmann, while the second view is supported by Theodoret (τῷ ποιήσαντι αὐτόν, Τουτέστιν ἀπόστολον καὶ ἀρχιερέα· .... ποίησιν δὲ οὐ τὴν δημιουργίαν τὴν χειροτονίαν κέκληκεν), Chrysostom, Calvin, Bengel, Delitzsch, Westcott, Nairne (Epistle to the Hebrews, Cambridge Bible, 1921), Moffatt, Robinson and Spicq.
(2) Vide supra, chapt.4.

his apostolate and high-priesthood are introduced. Thus we see 1) humanity, 2) apostolate and 3) high-priesthood in the Son himself. Or we may put it this way: Jesus of Nazareth, this historical man who died on the cross, is 1) the Son of God, 2) sent from the Father among men and, 3) appointed the high-priest by the Father, being ever faithful in carrying out his divine office (1).

II

4,14-16:

v.14:

In this verse our attention is called by the combination of indicative and imperative: ἔχοντες οὖν ἀρχιερέα μέγαν ....., κρατῶμεν τῆς ὁμολογίας . Man "has" what he has received. This is the "have" of faith, which is the basis for the following imperative. Because through faith "we" have received the high-priest, Jesus the Son of God, therefore let "us" keep our confession, in which "we" confess Jesus, the Son of God as high-priest (2).

μέγας ἀρχιερεύς : μέγας is a favourite adjective for ἀρχιερεύς in Philo (3). But when the author of Hebrews says

---

(1) Cf.4,14; Acts 9,20:

(2) Cf.R.Bultmann,Theologie des N.T.pp.100,329f.,426f.,459,512f., 519,523,528,531,540,544f.

(3) Som. i,214: τὸν μέγαν ἀρχιερέα , ὁπότε μέλλοι τὰς νόμῳ προστεταγμένας ἐπιτελεῖν λειτουργίας .....
Ibid.,219: ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς τρισὶ τοῖς εἰρημέναις τυπωθεῖς σφραγῖσι .....
Ibid.,ii,183: ὁ μέγας ὄντως ἀρχιερεύς .....
Migr Abr.235: ὁ μέγας ἱερεὺς τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ .....

ἀρχιερέα μέγαν διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανούς , μέγας is not an usual pleonasm as it is in Philo, but a special expression (1). The word is also used in 1 Macc 13,42 in order to express the greatness of Simon the high-priest:"And the people of Israel began to write in their instruments and contracts: 'In the first year of Simon the great high-priest and captain and leader of the Jews'" (Σιμωνος ἀρχιερέως μεγάλου καὶ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἡγουμένου Ἰουδαίων)(transl. given in Charles' "Apocrypha"). Here in our passage the word has nothing to do with the common Hellenistic expression of "mighty", or "powerful"(2). Jesus is called "great", because he does accomplish what the earthly high-priest could not accomplish. So the word points toward the superiority of Jesus' high-priesthood and also its eternal efficacy for saving the people(3)

διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανούς :

This great high-priest "has passed through heavens". Here Jesus' ascension is expressed in terms of Gnostic myth and of Apocalypse. In Mandaeean Gnosis the Gnostics are conceived of being on the way. This is "the way of life"(4).

"Du (sc.Licht) bist der Weg der Vollkommenen,
der Pfad, der zum Lichtort emporsteigt"(5).

"Allzeit zeigte er (sc.der Sohn des reichen Glanzes) mir den Weg
und schuf mir einen Pfad zum Lichtort." (Ginza,p.500,28f).

---

(1) Cf.10,21;13,20.
(2) Cf.ThWB.IV,p.535.
(3) Cf.7,25: σῴζειν εἰς τὸ παντελὲς δύναται τοὺς προσερχομένους δι' αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ
(4) Ginza, pp.26,3;254,26;255,3.32,etc.
(5) Ibid.,pp.271,26f. Cf.20,3;23,2;68,10,etc.

The soul goes this way up to the place of Light. This is the way of emancipation from the power of matter. So the call to the salvation sounds:

"Auf, auf, bete das Grosse an und unterwirf dich,
damit das Leben dich zum Erloeser werde.
Das Leben sei dir ein Erloeser,
und du steig empor und schaue den Lichtort"(Ginza,p.388,19ff.).

The term "to ascend"(ἀναβαίνειν) in this context can also be found in the New Testament.

ὁ καταβὰς αὐτός ἐστιν
καὶ ὁ ἀναβὰς ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν οὐρανῶν (Eph 4,10) (1).

Slavonic Enoch 3-21, The Testament of Levi 3 and Ascensio Jesaiae 7ff. tell us how this ascension through heavens takes place (2). Test Lev 3,4-6 (text a) describes the scene of the highest heaven as follows.

"And in the highest of all dwelleth the Great Glory
far above all holiness.
In the heaven next to it are the archangels,
who minister and make propitiation to the Lord
for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous;
Offering to the Lord a sweet-smelling savour,
a reasonable and a bloodless offering."(transl. given in Charles).

As Michel remarks, the description of Rev 8,3-5 (the priestly ministry of angels in heaven) and Heb 9,11f. (Christ' entrance into the heavenly Holy Place) are similar to this description of

---

(1) Cf. M.Dibelius, An die Epheser,pp.80f.; ThWB.III,pp.641f. Cf. also Acts 1,10: ὡς ἀτενίζοντες ἦσαν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν πορευομένου αὐτοῦ ....
1 Pet 3,22: I. X. πορευθεὶς εἰς οὐρανόν
(2) Cf. The Second Enoch, or The Book of the Secrets of Enoch (Slavonic Enoch) and The Testament of Levi, in Charles' "Apocrypha"; Ascensio Jesaiae (Die Himmelfahrt des Jesaja) in Hennecke.

Test Lev (1). Hence we know that the Gnostic influence also affected the later Judaistic Apocalypse.

Our phrase says then that the high-priest who laid the way of salvation up to heaven (2) went himself this way first through heavens (πρόδρομος ,6,20) (and entered the Holy Place.9,12). This is the superiority of Christ's high-priesthood over the Jewish high-priesthood. As Westcott puts it, "The phrase points out the superiority of Christ over Jewish high-priest and over the Jewish mediator. He has passed not through the veil only but through the heavens up to the very throne of God and entered into the loyal rest of God." (3).

Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ :

This great high-priest, Jesus, who is one of us, is the Son of God. On this foundation of the two "natures" of Christ: humanity and divine Sonship, stands his high-priesthood. We may therefore understand Christ's high-priesthood as a graphic representation of the eternal fact of salvation accomplished in the historical event, in which God Himself acted in the man Jesus on behalf of man (4). Hence his high-priesthood is "great" and eternal. He exercises it perpetually (5). As Oscar Cullmann has pointed out (6), we have

---

(1) Cf.O.Michel,op.cit.,p.121.
(2) Cf.10,20: ἣν ἐνεκαίνισεν ἡμῖν ὁδὸν πρόσφατον καὶ ζῶσαν. Cf. also Acts 16,17: ὁδὸς σωτηρίας.
(3) B.F.Westcott,op.cit.,p.106.
(4) Cf.2 Cor 5,19.
(5) 7,24.25.
(6) Cf. O.Cullmann,O., The Earliest Christian Confessions, transl. by J.K.S.Reid, London,1949. Cf.also G.E.Wright, God Who Acts, 1952,p.66.

here, perhaps, one of two formulae of the primitive confession (1): "Jesus is the Son of God"(2). This formula emphasizes the special relationship existing between God and Christ. Yet, at the same time Christ's humanity is not swallowed up by his divinity. Christ is a man and the Son of God at the same time: Jesus the Son of God.

Verse 14 says then: Since we have such a great high-priest, Jesus the Son of God, who passed through heavens and entered the Holy Place to "appear in the presence of God on our behalf"(9,24) and always lives to make intercession for "us"(7,25), let us hold fast our confession.

V.15:

In verse 14 the superiority of Christ's high-priesthood was emphasized: we have this great high-priest, Jesus the Son of God, who is in Holy Place. In contrast to this positive saying of verse 14 (ἔχοντες οὖν ....) verse 15 begins with a negative sentence: οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν .... By this the author seems to exhort the recipients of the Epistle who are inclined to "fall away from God"(3,12), either because of the temptations they experienced or weariness. So the thoughts here may be as follows. Though our high-priest is up in heaven before God, he is not unable to

---

(1) The other formula is "Jesus Christ is Lord"(1 Cor 12,3). Cf. Heb 13,20.
(2) In the Epistle to the Hebrews the name "Jesus" without connection with other title appears nine times.2,9;3,1;6,20;7,22;10,19;12,2.24; 13,12.20, while "the Son of God" without qualification appears in 6,6;7,3 and 10,29. The combination of these two titles occurs in 4,14. Cf. Acts 8,37;9,20;1 Thess 1,10;1 Jn 1,7;4,15;5,5. Cf. also B.F.Westcott's additional note on 1,4: The Divine Names in the Epistle, op.cit.,pp.33ff. and C.Spicq,op.cit.,I,pp.287ff.

sympathize with our weakness, but he does sympathize with us, precisely because he himself has suffered just in the same way as we do. The high-priest whom we confess to be Jesus the Son of God, is quite able to sympathize with us, being himself exalted and humiliated at once.

συμπαθεῖν is not to be understood psychologically, but in an existentialistic way: to suffer together, to share the suffering, "miterleiden" (1). The exalted Christ suffers together with men their weakness, because he himself was tempted in every respect (κατὰ πάντα) like as we are (κατὰ ὁμοιότητα) (2). Westcott quotes a saying of Jesus (agrapha) from Origen (in Mt 13,2): Ἰησοῦς γοῦν φησίν Διὰ τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἠσθένουν καὶ διὰ τοὺς πεινῶντας ἐπείνων καὶ διὰ τοὺς διψῶντας ἐδίψων .....(3). This explains the implication of συμπαθεῖν here.

ἀσθένεια :

A group of Greek words ἀσθενής , ἀσθένεια , ἀσθενέω are made from σθένος (strength) with an alpha-privative. They are used since Pindar, Herodotus and Euripides. They mean weakness, powerlessness in various context. The Septuagint often uses ἀσθενέω for לָשַׁל (Qal: to totter; Niph ʿal: to totter, stumble from weakness, e.g. Θ Daniel 11,41) and ἀσθένεια for מִכְשׁוֹל (a

---

(1) Cf. O.Michel,op.cit.,p.122.
(2) πεπειρασμένον κατὰ πάντα καθ' ὁμοιότητα runs literally "tempted in all things according to [his] likeness [with us] "(T.H. Robinson, Moffatt Commentary,p.51).
(3) B.F.Westcott,op.cit.,p.107. Cf. C.Spicq,op.cit.,II,p.92.

cause of stumbling; stumbling-block; cause of offence, Jer 6,21). This striking rendering can be explained by the Aramaic language-sense of the translator. For Aramaic root תקל means a. to stumble; b. to be weak. Participle οἱ ἀσθενοῦντες is often used in the New Testament for οἱ ἀσθενεῖς (e.g. Jn 5,3) or synonymously with it (compare 1 Cor 8,10 with 8,11). In the same way τὸ ἀσθενές is used sometimes for ἡ ἀσθένεια (Thuc.II,61, 2,etc.).

The first and main meaning of these words is "weak", "weakness", "to be weak", used primarily of the body. ἀσθένεια σώματος, Cl Al Strom. II,15,62,3.

In the New Testament the words are seldom used in the sense of purely physical weakness. On the contrary they are often used:

1) In a broader sense, of the whole man, e.g. 1 Pet 3,7: "Likewise you husbands, live considerately with your wives, bestowing honor on the woman as the weaker sex (ὡς ἀσθενεστέρῳ σκεύει τῷ γυναικείῳ)." The expression which signifies that man as a whole is a weak being (ἀσθενὲς ζῷον) is often used. Cl Al Strom.II,16,72,4: ἀσθένεια τῶν ἀνθρώπων. In the New Testament it is used in one of Jesus' sayings: " ἡ σάρξ ἀσθενής " (the flesh is weak, Mt 26,41) in contrast to " πνεῦμα πρόθυμον " (the spirit is willing). In Pauline usage the word implies especially the weakness of the flesh in a religious and ethical context, e.g. ἀνθρώπινον λέγω διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς ὑμῶν, Rom 6,19. Here ἄνθρωπος, σάρξ and ἀσθένεια are correlative conceptions.

2) The opposition to ἀσθένεια τοῦ σαρκός is δύναμις τοῦ πνεύ-

ματος , which helps us in our weakness (Rom 8,26). But ἀσθένεια is not only the antithesis of δύναμις , but it can also be a place of revelation of the divine δύναμις on earth. ἡ δύναμις ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τελεῖται (2 Cor 12,9). God chooses the weak to carry out the divine purpose. τὰ ἀσθενῆ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεὸς ἵνα καταισχύνῃ τὰ ἰσχυρά (1 Cor 1,27). So also Christ, who is not weak but powerful (οὐκ ἀσθενεῖ ἀλλὰ δυνατεῖ , 2 Cor 13,3), was weak as a man (καὶ γὰρ ἐσταυρώθη ἐξ ἀσθενείας , 2 Cor 13, 4). And so he who is in Christ, shares in the same weakness with Christ (καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἀσθενοῦμεν ἐν αὐτῷ , 2 Cor 13,4). This is the weakness of God, of which Paul says in 1 Cor 1,25: "The weakness of God is stronger than man." Corresponding to the main line of paradox in the New Testament, weakness as a form of the appearance of God on earth is an honourable mark of the Christian. For he can say: "When I am weak, then I am strong." (2 Cor 12,10). So his weakness becomes the cause of his boasting: "I will all the more gladly boast of my weaknesses"(2 Cor 12,9) (1).

ἀσθένεια in our present passage is used in the sense of "weakness of flesh" above observed, viz. weakness both in a physical and religious context. Because we are in the flesh, we are weak. ἀσθένεια , then, is an expression for human existence itself. In this weakness we are exposed to temptations and hence to the risk of sin. Jesus found himself in this human weakness just as we are and was therefore tempted in every respect as we are tempted. Calvin

---

(1) On ἀσθένεια cf. ThWB.I,pp.488ff.

comments on the passage as follows: "These infirmities Christ of his own accord undertook, and he willingly contended with them, not only that he might attain a victory over them for us, but also that we may feel assured that he is present with us whenever we are tried by them"(1). The exalted Christ, who is far away from us in the heavenly Holy Place, is at the same time among us sharing with us our human weakness.

χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας :

This phrase expresses the decisive difference between Jesus and the rest of us. Jesus, our great high-priest, has himself been tempted in his human weakness, yet without sinning. He did not yield to temptations. On the contrary, he overcome them. This reveals that exactly in and through his weakness the divine power was working. Jesus' weakness is the place, wherein the divine power acts: glory in passion. As we have seen above, for Paul, weakness is a place of revelation of the divine power on earth (2 Cor 12,9). Behind this statement of Paul's on weakness there lies the fact of Christ who was as man, but strong in God (cf.2 Cor 13,4). πεπειρασμένον κατὰ πάντα καθ' ὁμοιότητα χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας in our verse shows this mark of Christ. As Michel puts it, "Das Zeugnis des Heb von der Suendlosigkeit haengt an der Geschichtlichkeit Jesus und an der Ueberwindung der Anfechtung"(2).

---

(1) Calvin, Commentarius in Epistolam ad Hebraeos. He understands ἀσθένεια here psychologically as "the feelings or affections of the mind (affectus animi), to which our nature is liable, and that on account of its infirmity." (transl. by J.Owen).
(2) O.Michel,op.cit.,p.126. On Jesus' temptation and sinlessness, cf. H.Windisch,op.cit.,pp.38ff.; O.Michel,op.cit.,pp.125ff. Cf. also T.H.Robinson, Moffatt Commentary, ad loc.

V.16:

προσέρχεσθαι :

The word is used, as in the Septuagint (1), in a cultic sense in the Epistle, but nowhere else in the New Testament except 1 Peter 2,3 (2). The law "can never, by the same sacrifices which are continually offered year after year, make perfect those who draw near to God "(10,1). Christians draw near [to God] through their faith (πιστεῦσαι γὰρ δεῖ τὸν προσερχόμενον [τῷ] θεῷ 11,6), or through Christ (7,25). They "have come to Mount Zion and to the city of the living God"(12,22). They are exhorted to draw near to the throne of grace (4,16), or [to God] "with a true heart in full assurance of faith, with our hearts sprinkled clean from an evil conscience and our bodies washed with pure water"(10,22) (3).

---

(1) LXX uses προσέρχεσθαι when the priests draw near to God to serve Him. Lev 9,7: καὶ εἶπεν Μωυσῆς τῷ Ααρων Πρόσελθε πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον (קְרַב אֶל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ) καὶ ποίησον τὸ περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας. Cf.Lev 21,17,21;22,3; Num 18,3.

The same usage can be seen in papyri. PGiess I,20(beg.ii A/D): ἀξιώσεις οὖν διστιχον αὐτῶι γραφῆναι, ἵνα ἀξίως σου καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀόκνως προσέλθῃ . Dio Cassius,lvi,9: τοῖς θεοῖς προσερχώμεθα (Moult-Mill.p.547).

(2) 1 Pet 2,4-5: "Come to him (πρὸς ὃν προσερχόμενοι), to that living stone, rejected by men but in God's sight chosen and precious; and like living stones be yourselves built into a spiritual house, to God through Jesus Christ."(R.S.V.). Here in 1 Pet all Christians are conceived as priests (cf.1 Pet 2,9). Cf. E.G. Selwyn, The First Epistle of St. Peter, 2 ed. repr.,1952,pp.160, 291-4.

(3) In 10,1.22 προσέρχεσθαι is used absolutely, but "with the implication that God is object" (F.W.Beare, The First Epistle of Peter, 1947,p.94. Cf. C.Spicq, ad loc.).

In Heb 7,19 ἐγγίζειν is used synonymously. The phrase ἐγγίζειν τῷ θεῷ is used in LXX of priests. Ex 19,22: οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ ἐγγίζοντες (וְגַם הַכֹּהֲנִים הַנִּגָּשִׁים) ἁγιασθήτωσαν . Lev 10,3: εἶπεν Κύριος λέγων Ἐν τοῖς ἐγγίζουσίν μοι ἁγιασθήσομαι (בִּקְרֹבַי אֶקָּדֵשׁ). Cf.Ezek 42,13;43,19. Further cf. ThWB. II,682.

In the old covenant those who draw near to God were limited to the class of priests, while in the new covenant a direct approach to God is opened for every member of the "community"(ὁ λαὸς τοῦ θεοῦ), through Christ, the high-priest, who having offered himself opened the way for them once for all (10,19.20). Christ, however, is at the same time the way itself (1). Hence it is evident that, though προσέρχεσθαι is a word used primarily in a cultic sense, here it is used in a different context from the old covenant. Nor does it seem that everyone who draw near to God becomes a priest as in The First Letter of Peter (2).

Thus verse 16 says: (Since we have such a high-priest, who is Jesus the Son of God of our confession), let us, therefore, with confidence draw near to the throne of grace (3), that we may receive mercy and find grace (4) to help (us) in the hour of need (5).

To sum up, in this section (4,14-16) the author exhorts his readers to hold fast their confession, describing how their salvation is firmly rooted in the suffering and heavenly activity of Christ, the great high-priest, being himself humiliated and exalted.

---

(1) Cf.Jn 14,6.
(2) Cf.1 Pet 2,3b-5;2,9.
(3) θρόνος τῆς χάριτος : Hebraic expression for God. Drawing near to the throne we approach to God and also to the exalted Christ, who sits at the right hand of God (Heb 1,13 Ps 110). Cf.O.Michel, ad loc.
(4) Cf.LXX Gen 6,8: Νωε δὲ εὗρεν χάριν ἐναντίον Κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ.
(5) Cf.10,19-22.

III

5,1-10:

This passage can be divided into two parts. In the first part (vv.1-4) the characteristics of the Aaronic high-priest are pointed out. 1) The high-priest, chosen from among men and appointed to act on behalf of men with regard to God, must be able to "sympathize" with those who are ignorant and wayward (vv.1-3); 2) He must be called by God, just as Aaron was (v.4). Then in the second part (vv.5-10), the author describes how these two preliminary conditions are fulfilled in Jesus Christ. He begins his description in reverse order with the divine appointment of Christ. 1) That Jesus Christ is appointed as Son and high-priest by God is attested by the passages in Psalms (2,7;110,4); 2) He shares with us our human weakness through the fact that God saves him out of death, and he as the Son of God must learn obedience to his Father (vv.7-8); 3) Being "perfected" (τελειωθείς) Jesus Christ was designated the high-priest after the order of Melchizedek and thus became the "source of eternal salvation" (αἴτιος σωτηρίας αἰωνίου) to all who obey him (vv.9-10).

V.1:

ἐξ ἀνθρώπων λαμβανόμενος ὑπερ ἀνθρώπων καθίσταται τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν . τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν is a term taken from the Septuagint to express the cultic service and also the relationship to God in

general (1). Here the high-priest is understood solely as the one who offers sacrifices, and not as the chief of the state nor the one who occupies the highest position in the supreme court. Thus the high-priest plays his role in Hebrews only with regard to a cultic and priestly role, and not a politico-juridical role (2). So this phrase says that every high-priest chosen from among men is appointed (3) [to act] in behalf of men in things divine.

ἵνα προσφέρῃ δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίας ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτίων :

προσφέρω , "offer" (4) is a cultic term used often in the Septuagint in connection with δῶρον (Hiph'il of קָרַב : Lev 1,2; 2,1.4) and with θυσία (Lev 2,14; Num 15,4.9; 28,26). Thus the office of high-priest is to offer gifts and sacrifices for sins (5).

---

(1) Ex 4,16: σὺ (sc. Μωυσῆς) δὲ αὐτῷ (sc. Ααρων) ἔσῃ τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν (וְאַתָּה תִּהְיֶה־לּוֹ לֵאלֹהִים).

Ibid.,18,19: γίνου σὺ (sc. Μωυσῆς) τῷ λαῷ τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἀνοίσεις τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν (הֱיֵה אַתָּה לָעָם מוּל הָאֱלֹהִים וְהֵבֵאתָ אַתָּה אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים אֶל־הָאֱלֹהִים).

Cf.Dt 31,27. Jos Ant.,9,11,2: εὐσεβὴς .... τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν. Further cf.Rom 15,17; Heb 2,17. Walter Bauer renders τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν as "das, was Gott betrifft", or "in bezug auf das, was Gott angeht."

(2) Cf. O.Michel, ad. loc.

(3) καθίσταται : cf.Acts 6,3;7,10.27.35; Tit 1,5;Heb 2,7;7,28; 8,3. Cf. also 1 Macc 10,20;2 Macc 14,13;Philo, Mos.,ii,109.

(4) προσφέρω is used 48 times in the N.T. Its distribution is as follows. Mt: 15;Mk:3;Lk:4;Jn:2;Acts:3;Heb:21. ἀναφέρω is also used synonymously in Heb 3 (or 4) times (7,27: ἀνενέγκας , 𝔓 ℵ ; προσενέγκας , א A 33 pc). The word is not used in Pauline writings.

(5) Comp.5,1 with 8,3a: πᾶς γὰρ ἀρχιερεὺς εἰς τὸ προσφέρειν δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίας καθίσταται.

V.2:

μετριοπαθεῖν (1): The word expresses the idea of proportion, equilibrium, a moderation of passions and sentiments, the equality of humour. For Aristotle, who uses the substantive μετριοπαθεία, the word signifies the middle between insensitivity and hypersensitivity (ἀμέτρια τῶν πάθων). The wise man should not be pathetic (παθητικός), nor apathetic (ἀπάθης), but he should moderate his passions (μετριοπάθης)(2). The Stoic wise man, on the other hand, is the one who is "not subject to passions" (ἀπάθης). According to Philo μετριοπαθεία is that which belongs to προκόπτων ("the one who makes gradual progress") and not to the perfect (τέλειος). The προκόπτων practises moderation to overcome his own passion (3). When μετριοπαθεία is practised in relationship to one's neighbours, it is associated with magnanimity (μεγαλοφροσύνη , Jos Ant. 12,3,128), with

---

(1) The word is not used in LXX. In N.T. it is used only here.
(2) Diog L. 5,31: Aristotle " ἔφη τὸν σοφὸν ἀπαθῆς μὲν μὴ εἶναι, μετριοπάθης δὲ ."

(3) Philo, Leg All. iii,129: "Moses thinks it necessary to use the knife on seat of anger in its entirety, and to cut it clean out of the soul, for not moderation of passion (μετριο- παθεία) can satisfy him." Ibid.,132: "But Aaron, the man who is making gradual progress (προκόπτων), holding a lower position, practises moderation." Migr Abr. 257: "The advice was that he (sc.Abraham) should not grieve overbitterly as at an utterly new and unheard-of misfortune (sc. the death of his wife Sarah), nor yet assume an indifference as though nothing painful had occurred, but choose the mean rather than the extremes and aim at moderation of feeling (μετριοπαθεῖν πειρᾶσθαι)."

ἐπιείκεια (1) and πραότης (2). So the word implies the sense of condescension, indulgence or generosity. The context of our passage seems to demand us to take μετριοπαθεῖν synonymously with συμπαθεῖν (4,15)(3) with a nuance of benevolence, mildness or patience. As St. Paul commanded the Galatians to deal with a man, who is overtaken in any trespass, in a spirit of gentleness (ἐν πνεύματι πραΰτητος , Gal 6,1), so, in the same spirit, the high-priest suffers with "sinners". Thus the high-priest offers sacrifices for sins as the one who is able "to deal gently" with the ignorant and erring (4), since he himself is beset with weakness (περίκειται ἀσθένειαν) (5).

V.3:

As we have seen before, ἀσθένεια is human weakness through which man is exposed to temptations and risk of sinning (4,15).

---

(1) Philo, Spec Leg.iii,96: "the most reasonable and mild tempered" (τοὺς ἐπιεικεστάτους καὶ τοὺς μετριοπαθεστάτους).
(2) Plutarch., De frater. amore,18: ἡ γὰρ μάτην καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἡ φύσις ἡμῖν ἔδωκε πραότητα καὶ μετριοπαθείας ἔκγονον ἀνεξικακίαν .....
(3) Calvin ad loc.: "... μετριοπαθεῖν , quod verbum hic apostolus usurpat, varie, exponunt tam graeci quam latini interpretes. Ego tamen simpliciter idem valere puto, ac si dictum esset, accomodare se ad συμπάθειαν ."
(4) Cf. C.Spicq,op.cit.,ad loc.
(5) περίκειται : The term occurs in LXX in Ep. Ier. 23 (τὸ χρυσίον, ὃ περίκεινται εἰς κάλλος); 57 (τὸν ἱματισμὸν τὸν περικείμενον) and in 4 Macc 12,2 (τὰ δέσμα περικείμενα) and in all of these passages in its literal sense (c.acc.rei, have round one, wear). In N.T. the term appears in Mk 9,42; Lk 17,2; Acts 28,20; Heb 5,2; 12,1. The word is used in classical Greek since Homer, in Inscriptions, Papyri and Philo (Vit Mos. ii,182). Seneca says of the body: "hocquoque natura ut quamdam vestem animo circumdedit." Cf. Walter Bauer on the word.

Because of this weakness (1) Leviticus imposed upon the high-priest an obligation (ὀφείλει) to offer a young bull without blemish as a sacrifice for his own sins before performing the rites of purification of the people and sanctuary (Lev 4,3-12; 9,7; 16,6.11) (2). This shows that the high-priest chosen from among men compassionates their weakness. He suffers just as they do. Like them he has to purify himself.

V.4:

Having emphasized the humanity and weakness of the high-priest, the author affirms now the divine appointment of the high-priest and thus indicates the authority of this office. Hence it is evident that God alone is able to choose the mediator, whose offerings and propitiation He accepts. "Then bring near to you Aaron your brother, and his sons with him, from among the people of Israel, to serve me as priests."(Ex 28,1 R.S.V.). "And you shall appoint Aaron and his sons, and they shall attend to their priesthood; but if any one else comes near, he shall be put to death." (Num 3,10). Thus one does not take this honourable office (τιμὴν, λαμβάνειν ,

---

(1) δι' αὐτήν .....ℶ
δια ταυτήν .....ℜ pm
δια ταῦτα .....467 lat

(2) Cf.Heb 7,27; Philo, Ebr. 129; Vit Mos.ii,153; Rer Div Her. 174.
It is uncertain whether verse 3 refers to the great Day of Atonement or daily Tamid-offering (cf. Str-B.III,pp.696ff.). Following Delitzsch, Westcott, Moffatt, Robinson and Spicq we understand that the author of Hebrews is thinking here the Day of Atonement.

honorem sumere, Vulg.)(1). but he takes it when he is called by God, just as Aaron was. It is God who appoints the high-priest. The Aaronic high-priest is, therefore, a human being just as the people are, while, on the other hand, he is distinguished from them by his divine call.

Having characterized the Aaronic high-priest, the author of Hebrews now goes on to describe the high-priesthood of Christ. As the Aaronic high-priest was, so Christ was appointed Son and high-priest by God, as attested in the Psalms (vv.5-6). He is also disciplined by his own sufferings, through which he is able to sympathize with human weakness(vv.7-8).

VV.5-6:

Similarly (οὕτως) Christ did not glorify himself so as to become the high-priest, but was glorified by him (2) who said to him,

> "Thou art my Son,
> to-day I have begotten thee"(Ps 2,7);

as he says also in another place,

> "Thou art a priest forever,
> after the order of Melchizedek."(Ps 110,4).

---

(1) J.Moffatts comments, " τὴν τιμήν means position or office, as often e.g. ἐπίτροπος λαμβάνει ταυτὴν τὴν τιμὴν (i.e. of supervising the household slaves), Aristot Pol. i,7."(op.cit.,p.63). Cf.2 Pet 1,17; Rev 4,11. In the same sense Josephus uses τιμή of the high-priests: Moses tells Israelites, νῦν δ' αὐτός ὁ θεὸς Ἀαρῶνα τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης ἄξιον ἔκρινε καὶ τοῦτον ἥρηται ἱερέα (Ant.,iii,8,1). Cf. Philo, Vit Mos.ii,67.

(2) Moffatt and Spicq suggest to read the passage supplying some words like αὐτὸν ἐδόξασεν after ἀλλ . Cf. J.Moffatt and C.Spicq,op.cit., ad loc.

The parallelism between v.4 and v.5 is perfectly clear: Καὶ οὐκ ἑαυτῷ τις λαμβάνει τὴν τιμήν, ἀλλὰ κτλ = Καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἑαυτῷ ἐδόξασεν ..... ἀλλὰ κτλ. As the office of the high-priest is δόξα (1), τιμή (5,4), δοξάζω signifies the participation in this high-priestly glory. γενηθήναι is an epexegetic infinitive (2). "Christ did not glorify himself" (or "Christ did not exalt himself...")— this modesty of Christ is like that described in Jn 5,41; 8,50.54; Rom 15,3 and Phil 2,6f. (3). Christ did not usurp the glorious office of the high-priest. But it is God who conferred this dignity upon him, by appointing him this office as Psalms attest. Thus Christ is appointed the Son of God and the high-priest at once, that is to say, at the time of his exaltation (4).

According to the author, one condition of the high-priesthood of Christ is fulfilled by the divine appointment. Christ fulfilled, also, another condition thereof: compassion toward sinners. Though he is the Son of God, yet he is a man as well. Hence he suffers from human frailty and weakness in the course of his sacrifices. Through these sufferings he was made perfect (2,10). Since his resurrection and exaltation, Christ— the high-priest in the presence

---

(1) Cf.2 Macc 14,7: τὴν προγονικὴν δόξαν (λέγω δὴ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην).
(2) Cf.Bl-Debr. § 392,3. The same usage is seen, e.g. in Acts 15,10. Cf. Moffatt and Spicq, ad loc.
(3) Jn 5,41: Δόξαν παρὰ ἀνθρώπων οὐ λαμβάνω.
8,50: ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ ζητῶ τὴν δόξαν μου ....
54: ἐὰν ἐγὼ δοξάσω ἐμαυτόν, ἡ δόξα μου οὐδέν ἐστιν...
Rom 15,3: καὶ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς οὐχ ἑαυτῷ ἤρεσεν.....
Phil 2,6f.: ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ, ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν μορφὴν δούλου λαβών .....
(4) We have discussed this above in chap. 3.

of his Father—is able to save the people, being himself merciful toward them. All these ideas, which were indicated in 2,17-18; 4, 15-16 are expressed here in our passage in a long sentence. The passage consists of two principal propositions: ὃς ... ἔμαθεν (vv.7-8); καὶ .... ἐγένετο .... αἴτιος σωτηρίας (vv.9-10).

V.7:

ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ : Though the divine appointment of Christ as the Son and the high-priest comes first in the present passage, this is merely the order of description. In the order of the matter, however, the order is reversed. The Son's days in the flesh and his human sufferings come first, and then follows the divine appointment at the exaltation (1). The phrase is an expression for Christ's historical existence (2) distinguished from his pre-existence and post-existence after his exaltation. The days of his flesh are, indeed, a stage of Christ's "way" down from heaven and up to heaven (3).

δεήσεις τε καὶ ἱκετηρίας .... προσενέγκας :

The phrase may express the agony of Jesus in Gethsemane (4). The

---

(1) Cf.1,5;2,10;4,15.
(2) Cf.2,14;Rom 8,3;Phil 2,7f.
ἡμέρα in the sense of lifetime (Lebenszeit,Existenzzeit) is also used in A.T. and LXX. Gn 5,17: πᾶσαι αἱ ἡμέραι Μαλελεὴλ (כָּל־יְמֵי מַלְלְאֵל). Ibid.,6,3: ἔσονται δὲ αἱ ἡμέραι αὐτῶν (יָמָיו) ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ἔτη . Cf.Gen 6,5;9,29;25,7;35,28;Dt 30,20,etc.
(3) Cf.Windisch, Michel and Spicq ad loc.
(4) Cf. A.Nairne, The Epistle of Priesthood, 2 ed.,1915,p.330; O.Michel and C.Spicq ad loc.

author seems to characterize Christ's days of flesh by this offering of "prayers and supplications". προσφέρειν suggests taking prayers and supplications as the offering of Christ (1). μετὰ κραυγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ δακρύων (2) signifies the movements of the distress of Jesus' soul, which the author intends to picture in relief. Jesus offered these prayers and supplications to God, who is able to save him from death (ὁ δυνάμενος σώζειν ἐκ θανάτου) (3). Moffatt comments on the passage as follows: "It is one of the passages which prove how deeply the writer was impressed by the historical Jesus; the intense faith and pitifulness of Jesus must have deeply moved his mind. He seeks to bring out the full significance of this for the saving work of Jesus as Son."(4).

εὐλάβεια :

1. The group of the words εὐλαβής , εὐλαβεῖσθαι , εὐλάβεια designate in Greek an attitude of <u>caution</u> in various differentiations of meaning. It can mean a <u>precautious attention</u> upon the time (Bias 17 in Diels,II,217,8); an <u>uneasy timidity</u> (Aristoph Av. 377; Aritot Pol.II,8,p.1269a14); <u>to be apprehensive in the interest of</u> (Aristoph Ach. 955); <u>conscientiousness</u> (Plat Polit. 311ab). In the last case the meaning of εὐλάβεια comes near to the religious meaning which

---

(1) Cf.Jn 16,2.
(2) Cf.2 Macc 11,6: "Now when Maccabaeus and his men learned that he (Lysias) was besieging the strongholds (sc.Bethsuron), they and all the people wailed and wept, beseeching the Lord to send a good angel to save Israel (μετὰ ὀδυρμῶν καὶ δακρύων ἱκέτευον ...." (transl. given in Charles).
(3) Cf. James 4,12.
(4) J.Moffatt,op.cit.,p.65.

the words αἰδώς and εὐλαβής acquired: conscientious concern about right things. Further, this group of words can also signify religious awe. This meaning appeared strongly to the foreground in Hellenism, so that Plutarchus rendered ἡ πρὸς τὸ θειὸν εὐλάβεια as religio (Plut Num.22). Finally, in later Greek εὐλάβεια became a word for piety.

At the same time there was another line of development which finally reached the point, where the meaning of precaution, holding back or reserve passed into the meaning of fear, awe and anxiety (Cf.Aristot Eth Nic.p.1121b24ff.). Stoics would distinguish εὐλάβεια as εὐλόγος ἔκκλισις from φόβος as ἀλόγος ἔκκλισις. They signify εὐλάβεια, which only the wise are capable of, as one of the three εὐπάθειαι together with χαρά and βούλησις (Cf.Arnim, Frag.Stoic.,III,105,16ff.).

2. In the Septuagint εὐλαβεῖσθαι appears most often of this group of the words. It is used only seldom in the meaning of "to be discreet" (Sira 18,27), "to be afraid"(Sira 26,5). In most cases εὐλαβείσθαι is used in the meaning of "fear" or "dread" in rendering several Hebrew words, e.g. Dt 2,4: καὶ φοβηθήσονται ὑμᾶς καὶ εὐλαβηθήσονται ὑμᾶς σφόδρα (וְיָרְאוּ מִכֶּם וְנִשְׁמַרְתֶּם מְאֹד); Sira 41,3: μὴ εὐλαβοῦ κρίμα θανάτου; Sap 12,11: οὐδὲ εὐλαβούμενός τινα; 2 Macc 8,16; 9,29;with ἀπό: 1 Kings (LXX) 18,15; absolutely: Is 57,11, etc. In this usage εὐλαβεῖσθαι is not distinguished from φοβεῖσθαι and is used often with the latter word, e.g. Deut 2,4; Is 57,11. Most of all, εὐλαβεῖσθαι signifies "fear

of God" and is used as the rendering of יָרֵא (Ex 3,6) and חָם (Zeph 1,7; Zech 2,17 LXX).

εὐλαβής is used in the meaning of "the one who cautiously keeps off (sc.uncleanness)", of "godly man". Lev 15,31: Καὶ εὐλαβεῖς ποιήσετε τοὺς υἱοὺς Ισραηλ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκαθαρσίων αὐτῶν וְהִזַּרְתֶּם אֶת־בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל מִטֻּמְאָתָם); Mi 7,2: ὅτι ἀπόλωλεν εὐλαβὴς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς (אָבַד חָסִיד מִן־הָאָרֶץ).

εὐλάβεια ("fear", "fear of God") is used three times in Josh 22,24; Sap 17,8 and Prov 28,14.

3. In Josephus εὐλάβεια is "fear" (before the king), Ant 11, 239, while εὐλαβεῖσθαι signifies "awe" before God (τὸ θεῖον εὐλαβούμενοι), Ant. 6,259.

Philo used εὐλαβής essentially in the old Greek meaning as "the cautious", Vit Mos. i,83; Som. ii,80; εὐλαβῶς ἔχειν as "fear", Jos. 245; εὐλαβεῖσθαι is used in the meaning of "fear": absolutely: Spec Leg. Abr. 206 (μηδὲν εὐλαβηθῇς , "be not afraid"); with accusative: Vit Mos. i,215 (πόρθησιν εὐλαβηθείς, "fearing pillage and rapine"). In the sense of religious awe εὐλαβεῖσθαι is used in Rer Div Her. 29. εὐλάβεια in the meaning of "caution", "dread" is seen in Leg Al. iii,113; Virt. 24; in the meaning of "religious dread" in Rer Div Her. 22,29; Som.ii,82,141; Mut Nom. 201 (τὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ εὐλαβείας μέστα , "full of reverence and pious awe").

4. In the New Testament this word-group does not appear often(1).

---

(1) εὐλαβής : Lk 2,25;Acts 2,5;8,2;22,12.
εὐλαβεῖσθαι : Heb 11,7.
εὐλάβεια : Heb 5,7;12,28.

In all four passages, where εὐλαβής is used, the word means a "devout" man. In Heb 11,7 εὐλαβεῖσθαι means "take heed". εὐλαβεία appears twice in Heb 5,7 and 12,28. In the latter passage it is used with δέος in the meaning of "reverence" corresponding to "μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου ", Phil 2,12. Finally in our present passage, Heb 5,7, the meaning of the word has been greatly discussed by many scholars (1). We would, however, take the word in the meaning of "godly fear", "reverence" in parallel with the New Testament usage of εὐλαβής (synonym of εὐσεβής) (2).
εἰσακουσθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας means, then, "having been heard because of his godly fear"(3). So verse 7 says: In the days of his flesh, he offered prayers and supplications, with loud cries

---

(1) A good summary of various views is given in C.Spicq,op.cit.,II, pp. 114ff. Cf. also O.Michel, op.cit.,pp.135f.
(2) Cf.R.Bultmann on εὐλάβεια in ThWB.II,749-51.
(3) ἀπό : in consequence of, because of. Cf.Ex 6,9: καὶ οὐκ εἰσήκουσαν Μωυσῆ ἀπό τῆς ὀλιγοψυχίας καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τῶν σκληρῶν (וְלֹא שָׁמְעוּ אֶל־מֹשֶׁה מִקֹּצֶר רוּחַ וּמֵעֲבֹדָה קָשָׁה : "But they did not listen to Moses, because of their broken spirit and their cruel bondage",R.S.V.); Ibid.,3,7: καὶ τῆς κραυγῆς αὐτῶν ἀκήκοα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργοδιωκτῶν (וְאֶת־צַעֲקָתָם שָׁמַעְתִּי מִפְּנֵי נֹגְשָׂיו : "I have heard their cry, because of their taskmasters"). Cf. also Mt 18,7; Lk 19,3;24,41;Jn 21,6; Acts 12,14;20,9;22,11, etc. On ἀπό , cf. Walter Bauer, Bl-Debr.§§ 209-211.
Adolf von Harnack, followed by Bultmann, inserts οὐκ before εἰσακουσθείς and reads the phrase in connection with following "he was not heard ... though he was Son". There is, however, no text-critical support for this amendment. So we may neglect this reading. Cf. Ad. von Harnack, Studien zur Geschichte des N.T. und der alten Kirche, 1931,pp.245-52; R.Bultmann in ThWB.II,p.751.
Bl-Debr. § 211, suggests that we relate ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλ . not to εἰσακουσθείς , but to ἔμαθεν . The text read then: καὶ εἰσακ ., ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλ ..... ἔμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν .... But this reading seems to be too artificial and, moreover, it can not well explain the nuance of ὢν υἱός .

and tears, to him who was able to save him from death, and he was heard, because of his godly fear.

V.8:

The main thread of the sentence is: ὃς ... ἔμαθεν ... τὴν ὑπακοήν. καίπερ ὢν υἱός belongs to ἔμαθεν and not to the preceding participle εἰσακουσθείς as Blass-Debrunner suggests (1). The sentence says: Son though he was, he learned obedience through what he suffered (ἀφ' ὧν = ἀπὸ τούτων ἅ). In the days of his flesh, Christ experienced sufferings, and thus learned how to obey his Father. This is vividly presented in the scene of Gethsemane, when he prayed to his Father: "Abba, Father, all things are possible to thee; remove this cup from me; yet not what I will, but what thou willt (Mk 14,36; cf. Mt 26,39; Lk 22,42)". In order to express this idea of "obedience through passion" the author used here a classical formula: "Misfortune makes one wise" (ἔμαθεν - ἔπαθεν), which is as old as Herodotus. τὰ δὲ μοι παθήματα ἐνόντα ἀχάριστα μαθήματα γέγονεν (Hdt.I,207).

"By Zeus in heaven,
Who set us mortals on the road of thought,
Was the rule given —
'Wisdom by suffering must for man be wrought!'" (πάθει μάθος)(2).

---

(1) Cf.Bl-Debr. §211.

(2) Aesch Ag. 176f. transl. by W.Manson. Cf. also Philo, Vit Mos. ii,55.280; Rer Div Her. 73; Som.ii,107; Spec Leg.iv,29,etc. Spicq sees here the literal culture of our author and Philo's influence upon him. "Le jeu de mots ἔμαθεν - ἔπαθεν est si traditionnel (Eschyle, Xénophon, Démosthène, Hérodote, Denys d'Halcarnasse, etc.), que son emploi par Hébr 5,8 peut simplement relever de la culture littéraire de l'auteur; mais l'extraordinaire fréquence de cette paronomase chez Philon, au point qu'elle est devenue pour lui une formule et un principe fondamental d'éducation, permettrait de conclure à son influence plus directe sur son successeur..." (op.cit., I,pp.46-7).

Moffatt comments on the general idea of the passage as follows: "The general idea corresponds to that of 10,5-9 below, where Jesus enters the world submissively to do the will of God, a vocation which involved suffering and self sacrifice. But the closest parallel is the argument of Paul in Ph 2,6-8, that Jesus, born in human form, ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν γενόμενος ὑπήκοος (sc. τῷ θεῷ) μέχρι θανάτου. and the conception of the ὑπακοή of Jesus (Rom 5,18.19) in contrast to the παρακοή of Adam"(1).

V.9:

τελειωθείς : being made perfect. Jesus suffered, learned obedience and was made perfect. As we have seen before (2), τελειωθείς signifies Jesus' exaltation. Through sufferings Jesus learned and proved his obedience to the will of God. In consequence of this obedience he was made perfect, having been exalted by his Father.

αἴτιος σωτηρίας αἰώνιος : the cause of eternal salvation (3). Westcott recognizes a difference of nuance of ἀρχηγὸς τῆς σωτηρίας

---

(1) J.Moffatt, op.cit.,p.67. Cf.Michel and Spicq ad loc.
(2) Vide supra, on 2,10 in chap. 3.
(3) αἴτιος (σωτηρίας αἰώνιος). Hapax legomenon. The formula is used in Josephus (Ant.XIV,136) and in Ps-Arist. (De mundo, VI, 398 a 4) in a profane context. On the other hand, Philo uses the formula in a religious sense. Agric. 96: the brazen serpent "proving the author of complete deliverance (αἴτιος σωτηρίας παντελοῦς) to those who beheld it". Cf.Spec Leg. i,252; Virt. 202.
ἐγένετο πᾶσιν τοῖς ὑπακούουσιν αἴτιος σωτηρίας αἰώνιου has a corresponding expression in Philo, Abr.261:
μὲν αἴτιος γίνεται κακοῦ, πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἀγαθῶν κτήσεως ὁμοῦ καὶ χρήσεως ("the virtuous man ... brings no harm to anyone, but the acquisition and enjoyment of good things to all his subjects." Cf. C.Spicq,op.cit.,I,p.44.

(2,10) and αἴτιος σωτηρίας (5,9), when he says as follows: "There the thought was of Christ going before the 'many sons' with whom He unites Himself. Here the thought is of that which He alone does for them. In the former passage He is the great leader who identifies Himself with His people: in this He is the High-priest who offers Himself as an effectual sacrifice on their behalf"(1). Christ himself was saved by going the way of salvation. At the same time, however, he is the leader (ἀρχηγός) who goes this way in front of the wandering people. By this leadership he also makes perfect the "faith" of this wandering people (ὁ τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγὸς καὶ τελειωτής ,12,2). Thus he opened the way of salvation, went this way in front of his people as their leader, completed their faith, and finally, being made perfect, he intercedes for them before God. By this function of high-priest, Christ is now the source of eternal salvation to all who obey him (ὑπακούουσιν αὐτῷ)(2). Christ was made perfect by his obedience (ὑπακοή) to the will of God, but now he himself is the source of eternal salvation to all who obey him. Here is the solidarity of obedience between Christ and his people (3).

---

(1) B.F.Westcott, op.cit., p.129.
(2) Cf.E.Kaesemann, op.cit., p.141.
(3) Spicq comments on this verse as follows. "Ce verse est donc fondamental pour la théologie du corps mystique ...", op.cit., II, p.118.

V.10:

προσαγορευθεὶς .... ἀρχιερεὺς ...: being designated ... a high-priest (vocatus pontifex, Vulg.). προσαγορεύω (hapax legomenon in N.T.) means 1) address, greet: ἀλλήλους Hdt I,134; etc.; 2) c. dupl. acc. address or greet as so and so: τὸν αὐτὸν πατέρα προσαγορεύειν , Xenoph Cyrop. 5.3.47. Pass. ὑφ' ὧν προσ-ηγορεύθης ἡ Διὸς ἅμαρ , Aesch Prom. 834; ἀγορευθεὶς αὐτοκράτωρ (Lat. imperator consultatus), Plut Pomp.8; 3) Simply, call by name, call so and so: τί τὴν πόλιν προσαγορεύσεις ; Plat Resp. 428d (1). In our passage the word is used in the second meaning examined above. Christ was designated a high-priest. This usage can also be seen in Hellenistic writings (2).

Finally, verse 10 says: being designated by God a high-priest after the order of Melchizedek. This title is involved in the words of Psalm 110,4. Christ was made perfect through his absolute obedience, exercised in his sufferings, and designated by his Father a high-priest after the order of Melchizedek, having eternal efficacy. Thus he became the source of eternal salvation to all who are obedient to him.

In 2,17-18 the humanity of the Son is expounded. The author here presents how the high-priesthood of Christ depends upon his humanity in humiliation and suffering. 3,1-2a expressly introduces

---

(1) Cf.Liddell-Scott on the word.
(2) 1 Macc 14,40; 2 Macc 4,7;10,9;14,37; Jos Ant. 15,293.

Christ's apostolate and high-priesthood. In these passages the author shows his readers 1) humanity; 2) apostolate, and 3) high-priesthood in the Son himself. Jesus of Nazareth, this man who died on the cross just as man is 1) the Son of God; 2) sent from the Father among men (ἀπόστολος), and 3) appointed high-priest by the Father. In 4,14-16 the author exhorts his readers to hold fast their confession (Ἰησοῦς ὁ υἱος τοῦ θεοῦ), describing how their salvation is firmly rooted in the sufferings and heavenly activity of the high-priest Christ, being himself humiliated and exalted at once. Finally, in 5,1-10 the characteristics of Christ's high-priesthood are presented in contrast to those of the Aaronic high-priest by God. 2) He shares with us our human weakness. 3) Being "perfected", Jesus Christ is designated the high-priest after the order of Melchizedek and becomes the source of eternal salvation. Thus we see how the author gradually develops the characteristics of the high-priesthood of Christ in the passages examined in this chapter. Thereby he presents the points in terms of conceptions which can only be fully understood against a Gnostic background.

Chapter 6

Christ as High-Priest II

Christ as High-Priest after the Order of Melchizedek: 7,1-28

Theological presentation of the Epistle to the Hebrews is interwoven with a series of exhortations. 2,1-4 comes between 1,1-14 and 2,5-18: The theme of 2,17-18 is taken up again in 4,14-16 after a long interval of 3,1-4,13. Also the theme of chapter 7 is a direct continuation of 5,1-10, 5,11-6,20 being a great exhortatory insertion. This exhortation is distinguished from those in 2,1-4; 10,19ff. and 12,1ff. not only by its length, but chiefly because this exhortation can not be regarded as simple introduction to a new theme. For the theme itself is already introduced in 2,17-18; 3,1-2a and 4,14-16, and is now interrupted: Christ as high-priest.

Kaesemann thinks that the meaning of this interruption can only be fully understood from the fact that, with chapter 7, not only the core of Hebrews, but also the disclosure of "mysteries" begins, as the Melchizedek-speculation evidently shows (1). The exhortation of 5,11-6,20 is to prepare the recipients for what the author is going to say about Christ as high-priest after the order of Melchizedek, which is hard to explain (λόγος πολὺς καὶ δυσερμήνευτος ,5,11) (2). Because an esoteric doctrine is presented, the

---

(1) E.Kaesemann,op.cit.,p.119. Cf. O.Michel,op.cit.,pp.139f.
(2) Cf. C.Spicq,op.cit.,II,p.204, note 3.

recipients must be mature (τέλειος ,5,14)(1). They must be those, who "have been enlightened, tasted the heavenly gift and have become partakers of the Holy Spirit."(6,4).

τελειότης (6,1): "maturity" in the sense of a "special knowledge" to be communicated by the author (2). Following E.Riggenbach (3), Kaesemann sees in τελειότης a "Christ-gnosis"(λόγος τέλειος) with its Gnostic background. τελειότης implies, 1) that with chapter 7 man enters the center of the Epistle; 2) that there a "mystery" is to be revealed, which is only approachable to the "enlightened ones" (φωτισθέντες ,6,4)(4). Thus the word shows that the Epistle is going to present the λόγος τέλειος from chapter 7 on. The author reveals from here on the ground for the certainty of salvation of the wandering people of God in the activity of

---

(1) J.Moffatt,op.cit.,p.68: "The interlude between 5,10 and 6,20 is devoted to a stirring exhortation; for this interpretation of the Son as priest is a piece of γνῶσις which can only be imparted to those who have mastered the elementary truths of the Christian religion, and the writer feels and fears that his readers are still so immature that they may be unable or unwilling to grasp the higher and fuller teaching about Christ."

(2) τελειότης = "Vollkommenheitslehre"(O.Michel,op.cit.,p.159). Cf.Ibid.,p.144; B.F.Westcott,op.cit.,p.143 and C.Spicq,op.cit., II,pp.146,219.

(3) E.Riggenbach,op.cit.,p.147.

(4) The early Church Fathers from Justinus (Apol.i,61,65) downwards applied φωτισθέντες to baptism. Peschitto renders the word as "who have once descended to baptism". The "enlightenment" here is expounded by an addition of ἅπαξ . So the enlightenment occurs in a particular act, which takes place once for all. This can only be the baptism (Cf.ThWB.I,p.382). The picture of "enlightenment" is used in various context in the N.T., but the terminology of Hebrews suggests that the word is used in a liturgical-sacramental context here. Cf.Heb 10,32;2 Cor 4,6; Eph 1,18;3,9;2 Tim 1,10 Cf. also E.Kaesemann,op.cit.,pp.119f.; O.Michel and B.F.Westcott ad loc.,R.Bultmann,Theologie des N.T., pp.141f.,510.

heavenly high-priest: Christ as high-priest forever after the order of Melchizedek is the source of eternal salvation (5,10;6,20).

With chapter 7 we arrive at the core of the Epistle. The theme was carefully prepared by the foregoing chapters. The high-priest Christ was introduced in 2,17-18; 3,1-2a and 4,14-16, and was somewhat minutely presented in 5,1-10. Then, after the preparation of the recipients for the "perfect teaching" in 5,11-6,20, the theme is finally developed in full scale in chapter 7. According to 5,10 Christ is "a high-priest after the order of Melchizedek", while 6,20 calls him "a high-priest forever after the order of Melchizedek". What does this mysterious allusion mean? Twofold thought is offered here: firstly, Christ's high-priesthood is after the order of Melchizedek; secondly, after this order he is high-priest forever. In chapter 7 the author works out these two points in detail. The main object of this chapter is, therefore, to show that a new order of high-priesthood is foreshadowed by Melchizedek; and that it found a perfect realization in Christ, when he was appointed the high-priest with the divine oath (Ps 110,4); and lastly that with this the old high-priesthood is fallen off, through which the Law was mediated.

The chapter can be divided into seven sections. 1) 7,1-3: Biblical statement on Melchizedek; 2) 7,4-10: Tribute of tithe to Melchizedek; 3) 7,11-14: Falling off of the old priesthood; 4) 7,15-19: Setting aside of the Law; 5) 7,20-22: Confirmation by oath; 6) 7,23-25: The eternity of the heavenly priesthood; 7) 7,26-28: The sublimity of the heavenly high-priest.

I

7,1-3:

The information of the Genesis passage (14,17-20) about Melchizedek is concise and anecdotal. Melchizedek, king of Salem (מַלְכִּי צֶדֶק מֶלֶךְ שָׁלֵם) met Abraham returning from the slaughter of kings with bread and wine, and blessed him as priest of God Most High (כֹּהֵן לְאֵל עֶלְיוֹן). Abraham apportioned a tithe of everything. Psalm 110 (109 LXX), 4 strengthens this information. The messianic royal Psalm points back to the old idea of kingship, to be both king and priest forever (after the order of Melchizedek) (1).

The author recapitulates in this section (7,1-3) what he wants to say about Melchizedek. The first part of this section (7,1-2a) reproduces the Old Testament description about Melchizedek (Gen 14, 17-20), while the second part (7,2b-3) gives an exposition of it, which ends in a rythmical sentence of four lines.

---

(1) C.A.Briggs, Psalms (ICC),II,p.374: "The conception of the monarch as priest is a primitive conception, earlier than the establishment of the Aaronic priesthood of P, earlier event han the Deuteronomic conception of the Levitical priesthood, just such a conception as that in the earliest historical documents, of Jethro Ex 2,16; 3,1; 18,1(JE) and of princes 2 S 8,18; 20,26;1 K 4,5 (Judaic sources). The Ps must therefore be pre-Deuteronomic. The words 'after the order of Melchizedek' destroy the measure of the Ps and are a gloss, giving an explanatory distinction, made necessary when the Aaronic priesthood filled the minds of the people and a Ps using this ancient terminology needed to be explained."
Cf. Also H.Schmidt, Die Psalmen, Handbuch zum A.T.,pp.202ff.; A.Bentzen, Messias-Moses redivivus-Menschensohn,1948,pp.18ff.

ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ, ἀγενεαλόγητος,
μήτε ἀρχὴν ἡμερῶν μήτε ζωῆς τέλος ἔχων,
ἀφωμοιωμένος δὲ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ,
μένει ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸ διηνεκές.

This seems to be "a little independent hymn"(1) praising Melchizedek as a foreshadowing or of the Son of God (ἀφωμοιωμένος τῷ υἱῷ θεοῦ). The serious problem here is how the author could derive these attributes (v.3) of Melchizedek from Gen 14,17-20. That the author did this by his own exegesis is not immediately self-evident(2).

The analogy of the names and titles between the king of Salem and of righteousness on the one hand, and Jesus (the Son of God) on the other hand, permits the author to discern the relation between type and antitype: Jesus will be the king-priest as foreshadowed by the king-priest Melchizedek. By this interpretation he establishes a "typological relationship"(ἀφωμοιόω, 7,3;κατὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα,7,15) between Melchizedek and Christ, both of them being historical personalities. The similar method was applied by Philo upon Gen 14, with a certain difference from the author of Hebrews.

---

(1) O.Michel,op.cit.,p.161: "Tatsaechlich laesst sich erkennen, dass 7,3 ein rhythmisches Gebilde aus vier Zeilen ist, also ein kleines selbstaendiges Gedicht, das Melchisedek als 'Abbild des Sohnes Gottes' preist. Zum dritten Mal (Hb 1,3;4,12-13 und 7,3) spricht hier hellenistisches Christentum in einem bestimmten Versmass zu uns; es ist anzunehmen, dass diese Gedichte vom Verfasser des Hb uebernommen sind, da Sprache und Anschauung dieser Gedichte bestimmte Selbststaendigkeit verraten."
(2) Cf.E.Kaesemann,op.cit.,p.134; H.Windisch,op.cit.,p.60.

"Melchizedek, too, has God made both king of peace, for that is the meaning of 'Salem', and His own priest (Gen 14,18). He has not fashioned beforehand any deed of his, but produces him to begin with as such a king, peaceable and worthy of His own priesthood. For he is entitled 'the righteous king' (βασιλεὺς δίκαιος), and a 'king' is a thing at enmity with a despot, the one being the author of laws, the other lawlessness. So mind, the despot (ὁ τύραννος νοῦς), decrees for both soul and body harsh and hurtful decrees working grievous woes, conduct, I mean, such as wickedness prompts, and free indulgence of the passions. But the king in the first place resorts to persuasion rather than decrees, and in the next place issues directions such as to enable a vessel, the living being I mean, to make life's voyage successfully, piloted by the good pilot, who is right principle. Let the despot's title therefore be ruler of war, the king's prince of peace, of Salem, and let him offer to the soul food full of joy and gladness; for he brings bread and wine .... But let Melchizedek instead of water offer wine, and give to souls strong drink, that they may be seized by a divine intoxication, more sober than sobriety itself. For he is a priest, even Reason (ἱερεὺς γάρ ἐστι λόγος), having as his portion Him that is, and all his thoughts of God are high and vast and sublime: for he is priest of the Most High (Gen 14,18), not that there is any other not Most High..."(Leg All. iii,79-82).

This interpretation is a model exegesis of an allegorical method. Philo sees in Melchizedek a manifestation of Logos, which is called a priest. Thus priest is a symbol of a right-reason (ὀρθὸς λόγος), a metaphysical and not an historical being. On the contrary, the author of Hebrews sees in Melchizedek an historical being, prefiguring Christ in the primitive history of Israel (1). According to the

---

(1) Cf. C.Spicq,op.cit.,II,p.207. B.F.Westcott,op.cit.,p.200: "The treatment of the history of Melchizedek is typical and not allegorical. The Epistle in fact contains no allegorical interpretation. The difference between the two modes is clear and decisive. Between the type and the antitype there is a historical, a real, correspondence in the main idea of each event or institution. Between the allegory and the application the correspondence lies in special points arbitrarily taken to represent facts or thoughts of a different kind. A history, for example, is taken to illustrate the relation of abstract ideas (comp.Gal 4)". Vide supra chap. 2,sect.3.

Old Testament, the righteousness and peace are messianic attributes (1). So Melchizedek, being king of righteousness and of peace, prefigures Christ.

מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק is interpreted as מֶלֶךְ צֶדֶק , king of righteousness (= righteous king). Beside Hebrews, Philo and Josephus interprets the name in the same way (2).

מֶלֶךְ שָׁלֵם : king of Salem. Strack-Billerbeck enumerates three interpretations of this title (3). 1) שָׁלֵם is a proper name of the place Salem, which is Jerusalem. Gn R 43: "'Malki-Çedeq, der Koenig von Schalem' Gn 14,18. Dieser Ort (Schalem-Jerusalem) machte seine Einwohner gerecht (deshalb hiess Sem auch Malki-Çedeq Koenig der Gerechtigkeit)"; 2) שָׁלֵם is understood as an appelative. So שָׁלֵם = שָׁלוֹם, aram. שְׁלֵם , is peace. מלך שלם king of peace. Heb 7,2 and Philo (Leg All.iii,79) interpret the term in this way; 3) שָׁלֵם is interpreted as an adjective: perfect. Gn R 43: " מֶלֶךְ שָׁלֵם (vollkommener Koenig) hiess er, weil er, wie R.Jicchaq der Babylonier gesagt hat, beschnitten geboren war."

As it is evident from this observation, the interpretation of מֶלֶךְ שָׁלֵם by the author goes with that of Hellenistic Judaism, and not

---

(1) Righteousness and peace are characteristics of the messianic age (Is 9,1-7). Righteousness: Jer 23,6;33,15f; Dan 9,24; Mal 4,2. Peace: 1 Chron 22,8ff.; Mic 5,5.
(2) Jos Ant. 1,10,2; Philo, Leg All.iii,79.
(3) Str-B.III,pp.692f. On Melchizedek, cf.Str-B. Exkurs 18: Der 110 Psalm in der altrabbinischen Literatur, IV,i,pp.452ff. O.Michel, Melchisedek in ThWB.IV,pp.573ff.; H.Windisch,Exkurs: Die Melkisedekspekulation, op.cit.,pp.58ff.; C.Spicq,Excursus V: Melchisédech et Jésus, op.cit.,II,pp.203ff. Cf.an exhaustive bibliography on the subject in C.Spicq,op.cit.,II,pp.213f.

of the rabbis.

V.3:

ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ : hapax legomenon. One can be called ἀπάτωρ and ἀμήτωρ, 1) who has neither father nor mother, because they have died; 2) who knows neither father nor mother: Hdt.IV,154; Midr Esther 2,7: Rab(247) said: "War Esther denn ein Findelkind, dass es von ihr heisst: Sie hatte weder Vater noch Mutter?"; 3) Whose genealogical-tree is unknown, so=ἀγενεαλόγητος. According to the conditions prescribed for the Levitical priesthood (Neh 7,63f.; Lev 21,3f.) Melchizedek as ἀγενεαλόγητος would be unfit for the priesthood (1). 4) ἀπάτωρ and ἀμήτωρ are also attributes of Greek deities, such as Aphrodite, Athena and Hephaistos (2). In distinction from the three cases above, ἀπάτωρ and ἀμήτωρ here are related to a mysterious heavenly origin. So also, according to Philo, Sarah is ἀμήτωρ (3). Further, ἀπάτωρ and ἀμήτωρ are even the attributes of God Himself. Michel quotes from Apk Abr., 17,9: Abraham prays: "Vaterloser, Mutterloser, Unerzeugter, Erhabener, Feuriger, Einziger" (4).

---

(1) Cf.Str-B.III,p.693.
(2) Poll Onom.III,26: ὁ οὐκ ἔχων μητέρα ἀμήτωρ, καθάπερ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ ὁ οὐκ ἔχων πατέρα ἀπάτωρ ὡς ὁ Ἥφαιστος.
Lact Inst.IV,13,2: "Ipse enim pater Deus et origo et principium rerum, quoniam parentibus caret, ἀπάτωρ atque ἀμήτωρ a Trismegisto verissime nominatur, quod ex nullo sit procreatus."
(3) Philo, Rer Div Her.62: "Not so was it with Virute or Sarah, for male descent is the sole claim of her, who is the motherless ruling principle of things (ἡ ἀμήτωρ ἀρχή), begotten of her father alone, even God the Father of all. For'indeed', it runs, 'she is my sister from the father, not from the mother'(Gen 20,12)".
(4) O.Michel,op.cit.,p.163.

ἀγενεαλόγητος : without genealogy (1).

The word can mean, 1) that Melchizedek has not a priestly legitimate origin (Riggenbach); 2) that he has an heavenly origin (Windisch, W.Bauer).

Moffatt comments on the passage as follows: "In the brief episode of Gn 14,18-20, this mysterious Melchizedek appears only as a priest of God; his birth is never mentioned, neither is his death; unlike the Aaronic priests, with whom a pure family descent was vital, this priest has no progenitors. Reading the record in the light of Ps 110,4, and on the Alexandrian principle that the very silence of scripture is charged with meaning, the writer divines in Melchizedek a priest who is permanent."(2). Does this sufficiently explain how our author derived these attributes of Melchizedek? Does the method of "argumenta e silentio", or the rabbinic principle of exegesis that "quod non in thora, non in mundo"(3) explain our present passage satisfactorily? Here we have to quote Kaesemann. He says,"... sind zugestandenermassen die Melchisedek in Hebr 7,2ff. zugesprochenen Praedikate ebensowenig aus Gen 14 wie aus Ps 110 abzuleiten. Man hilft sich damit, sie als argumenta e silentio zu betrachten. Und da im A.T. keine Angaben ueber Person und Abstammung, Geburt und Tod Melchisedeks vorliegen, laesst sich nach rabbinischer Schriftauslegung daraus tatsaechlich folgern, dass Melchisedek ein ewiges und himmlisches Wesen sei. Jedoch treffen diese Praedikate zugleich

---

(1) Hapax legomenon. The word is not used in LXX too.
(2) J.Moffatt,op.cit.,p.92.
(3) Cf.Str-B.III,p.694.

saemtlich mit denen ueberein, welche in der Gnosis ueblicherweise von einem 'Aeon' gelten. Ist das zufaellig? Man moechte das von der sehr genauen Bekanntschaft des Hebr mit der Gnosis verneinen, und Philos Melchisedek-Spekulation wie die einer bestimmten juedisch-gnostischen Ueberlieferung bestaerken darin."(1). Considering the "Gnostic" background of the Epistle, as we have shown in the exegesis heretofore, this proposition of Kaesemann's seems to be more probable than the view which see here immediately an "argumenta e silentio" or "quod non in thora, non in mundo".

μήτε ἀρχὴν ἡμερῶν μήτε ζωῆς τέλος: Melchizedek has neither beginning of days nor end of life. We may also explain this phrase by the rabbinic principle of exegesis. In the Holy Scripture neither Melchizedek's birth, nor his death is recorded. What is not recorded in the Scripture, is not demonstrable historically, or did not happen at all. Thus the priest without priestly descent does not also have the circumscription of his birth and death in accordance with the Holy Scripture. Instead of seeing a formalistic deduction of Melchizedek's attributes from the "silence" of the Scripture, however, we may more likely see here a positive description about him against the background of the Epistle (2).

---

(1) E.Kaesemann,op.cit.,p.134. In Japanese folklore many heroes and great priests of Buddhism are said to be "fatherless"(ἀπάτωρ). For instance, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598 A.D.), the first "Shogun" (the chief of the Feudal-Government) was conceived, when his mother, in a dream, saw the sun come down and enter into her bosom.
(2) Cf.H.Windisch,op.cit.,p.58; O.Michel,op.cit.,pp.163f.; E. Kaesemann,op.cit.,p.134.

ἀφωμοιωμένος δὲ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ:

ἀφωμοιωμένος means "resembling", as in Ep Jer 71: "Likewise also their gods of wood .... are like (ἀφωμοίωνται) to a white thorn in an orchard, that every bird sitteth upon; as also to a dead body ..."(transl. given in Charles). In Ps 110,4 the Son of God is likened to Melchizedek, and not vice versa. But the author of Hebrews sees the Son of God as archetype of Melchizedek (1). God is the subject who makes the prefiguration of the primitive time correspond to the event of the end-time. Thus Jesus, the Son of God, was typified by this king-priest Melchizedek of the primitive time.

μένει ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸ διηνεκές (2):

The construction of this long sentence (7,1-3) is: οὗτος ὁ Μελχισέδεκ.... μένει ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸ διηνεκές. As Javet says, the Epistle to the Hebrews uses the biblical figure of Melchizedek as a mirror. In Melchizedek the essential aspect of Jesus Christ is reflected: the sovereign majesty of his priesthood. What the author of Hebrews wants to do in this chapter is to show to his readers the image which is reflected in the mirror. This Melchizedek, being made alike to the Son of God, is presented in the Scripture that through him we may contemplate the Son of God (3).

---

(1) E.G.Bengel, ad loc.: Non dicitur Filius Dei assimilatus Melchisedeko, sed contra, nam Filius Dei est antiquor et archetypus.
(2) Ps 110 (LXX 109),4: Σὺ εἶ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ: אַתָּה־כֹהֵן לְעוֹלָם עַל־דִּבְרָתִי מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק
(3) Free rendering of J.S.Javet (Dieu nous parla,1945) quoted in C.Spicq,op.cit.,II,p.184.

7,4-10:

In this section the author compares Melchizedek at first with Abraham (v.4-7), and then with Levitical priesthood. By this he establishes the superiority of the priesthood after the order of Melchizedek to the Levitical priesthood. The text of 7,1-3 is presupposed and interpreted from various points of view. The motive of the tithe comes to the foreground throughout the presentation. Without going into a minute exegesis, we may paraphrase the passage.

Consider how great was this priest-king, to whom Abraham the patriarch gave a tithe of the spoils. 1) The Levitical priests took tithes from their brethren, while Melchizedek, who had not their genealogy (ὁ μὴ γενεαλογούμενος ἐξ αὐτῶν) took a tithe from Abraham, their common father (v.5-6a); 2) Melchizedek then blessed Abraham, thus excercising the privilege of a superior (v.6b-7) (1). By these two acts the superiority of Melchizedek's priesthood over Abraham, the father of Israel, is indicated.

As Melchizedek was superior to Abraham, so he was superior also to the Levitical priests. 1) Abraham and Levi are dead, but of Melchizedek, it is attested by the Scripture that he lives. This the author shows by Ps 110,4(2). Herein lies one aspect of the greatness of Melchizedek (v.8). 2) Further, one might say

---

(1) V.7: χωρὶς δὲ πάσης ἀντιλογίας τὸ ἔλαττον ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος εὐλογεῖται. "Dieser Satz entspricht nicht der juedischen Anschauung"(Str-B.III, p.695).

(2) Cf.Str-B.III,p.695. Windisch interprets the phrase in a different way: μαρτυρούμενος ὅτι ζῇ = μήτε ζωῆς τέλος ἔχων, 7,3(op.cit.,p.60).

(ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν)(1) that, if Abraham gave a tithe to Melchizedek, then this act of subordination is also effectual for the unborn descendants of Abraham (v.9-10).

II

7,11-14:

The author spoke at first about the meeting of Abraham with a Canaanite king-priest Melchizedek. The wonderful characteristics of this man were described, which point toward the priest of the end-time and his sharing of the divine eternity. The priesthood of Christ is thus foreshadowed by or typified in Melchizedek (7, 1-3). Then, the motive of tithe is developed in order to show the superiority of Melchizedek over Abraham and Levi (7,4-10). According to the present passage (7,11-14), this Melchizedek is the first sign of the falling off of the old priesthood and the beginning of a new order (τάξις), which through Christ is fulfilled at the end of days (2).

V.11:

εἰ μὲν οὖν .... ἦν : irrealis (3). "Now if there had been a perfection through the Levitical priesthood ..."

---

(1) ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ("so to say"): a rhetorical formula of the literary language used only here in the N.T. The phrase comes often in Philo, e.g. Op Mund. 107; Det Pot Ins. 73.
(2) Cf.O.Michel,op.cit.,pp.169.
(3) Bl-Debr. §360,3; O.Michel,ad loc.

τελείωσις : "perfection" in the sense of "exaltation", "approaching to God" (ἐγγίζειν τῷ Θεῷ) in the heavenly Holy Place(1).

ὁ λαὸς γὰρ ἐπ' ⌜αὐτῆς⌝ ⌜νενομοθέτηται(2): For under it people had received the law." "The efficacy of the Law may justly be represented by the efficacy of the priesthood, for the people called to be the people of God (v.5), hath received the Law, resting on it (the priesthood) as its foundation."(3).

The thoughts of verse 11 may be stated as follows. Before the Levitical priesthood was instituted another type of priesthood had been shown. But if the "perfection", which is the ultimate object of the priesthood, had been attainable through the Levitical priesthood, what need would there have been for another priest (ἕτερος ἱερεύς) after a different order to arise? But this really did happen. The Levitical priesthood, therefore, was only provisional.

V.12: "The change of priesthood involves the change of Law." (Westcott,ad loc.).(4).

---

(1) The word occurs twice in the N.T. in Lk 1,45 and Heb 7,11. In Lk the word is used with a somewhat different meaning,i.e.: "a fulfilment of what was spoken to her from the Lord." Vide supra, chap.4, sect.II. Cf.O.Michel,op.cit.,p.169.

(2) ⌜αὐτην ... 6 103 al
αὐτη ... ℜ pm

⌜νενομοθέτητο ℜ .... pm

(3) B.F.Westcott,op.cit.,p.181.

(4) O.Michel,op.cit.,p.170: "Am Schicksal des Priestertums hängt nach Hb das Schicksal des Gesetzes."

V.13: This verse goes back to verse 11, verse 12 being parenthetical. The promise in Ps 110,4 has been fulfilled. For he to whom these words (ταῦτα) are directed belonged to another tribe, from which no man served at the altar.

V.14: "For it is evident that our Lord was descended from Judah."

7,15-19:

7,11-14 described how the priesthood went to another "order" and another "tribe". In close connection with this section, 7,15-19 describes the deep cause of this change (μετάθεσις): "the power of an indestructible life"(7,16) and "a better hope"(7,19) prove the right of Christ (1).

V.15: "This becomes even more evident, when ...." What does "this" mean? The answer may be given in two ways. "This" means firstly, that in which the failure of the Levitical priesthood consists, as described in 7,11; secondly, what the superiority of the new order should be (2).

V.16: (ἱερεὺς ἕτερος,) ὃς οὐ κατὰ νόμον ἐντολῆς σαρκίνης γέγονεν ἀλλὰ κατὰ δύναμιν ζωῆς ἀκαταλύτου.

The old order of priesthood was κατὰ νόμον ἐντολῆς σαρκίνης. It was "fleshly" (3). In other words, the old order of priesthood

---

(1) Cf.O.Michel,op.cit.,p.171.
(2) Ibid,
(3) σαρκικῆς .... ℜ al
σαρκίνης .... 𝔖𝔧
Cf.Rom 7,14;1 Cor 3,1;2 Cor 3,3. σαρκικός: Rom 15,27;1 Cor 3,3; 9,11;2 Cor 1,12;10,4;1 Petr 2,11.

was concerned only with the "flesh" of man, since "all the requirements to be satisfied by a Levitical priest were literary 'of flesh', outward descent, outward perfectness, outward purity" (1). So the fleshly commandment is neither that which comes out of the flesh, nor that which excites man to sin, but it is the commandment which finds its embodiment in the flesh.

The new priest has become a priest not according to the law of a fleshly commandment, but by the power of an indestructible life. κατὰ νόμον ἐντολῆς σαρκίνης is contrasted to κατὰ δύναμιν ζωῆς ἀκαταλύτου . Both νόμος and δύναμις are interpreted by additional genitives: ἐντολῆς σαρκίνης and ζωῆς ἀκαταλύτου respectively. νόμος finds its expression in ἐντολῆς σαρκίνης , while δύναμις consists in ζωὴ ἀκαταλύτου(2). The νόμος of the old covenant and the δύναμις of the new covenant define the priesthood of the respective orders. Walter Grundmann interprets the passage as follows. "Hebrews describes the δύναμις of the exalted Christ, as a δύναμις ἀκαταλύτου ζωῆς , 7,16, a power therefore, which, since this power has overcome all transitoriness and destruction, is freed from all transitoriness and destruction..."(3). This δύναμις ἀκαταλύτου ζωῆς is foreshadowed in the figure of Melchizedek (cf.7,3.8), and attested in Ps 110,4: "For it is witnessed of Him, 'Thou art a priest forever, after the order of Melchizedek'" (7,17)(4).

---

(1) B.F.Westcott,op.cit.,p.184.
(2) According to Michel (op.cit.,p.172), ζωὴ ἀκαταλύτου may be a closer definition of ζωὴ αἰώνιος : eternal life can not be destructible (Jn 2,19;11,25).
(3) W.Grundmann, on δύναμις in ThWB.II,p.306.
(4) Cf.H.Windisch, ad loc.

V.18:

The setting aside (ἀθέτησις) (1) of the former commandment "comes to pass" (γίνεται), "in the fulfilment of the divine order, as indicated by the mention of an eternal priesthood on a new type"(2), because of its weakness and unprofitableness. The law is weak (ἀσθενής) and unprofitable (ἀνωφελής), because it can not touch man in his own existence and transform him (3).

V.19:

The law made nothing perfect. "The Law, of which the institution of the Levitical priesthood was a part or indeed the foundation (v. 11), brought nothing to perfection. In every application (οὐδέν) it was provisional and preparatory."(4). This parenthetical clause is explanatory of "the weakness and unprofitableness" of the commandment in the foregoing verse.

While there is, on the one hand, a setting aside of a preparatory commandment, there is, on the other hand, "the introduction of a better hope (ἐπεισαγωγὴ κρείττονος ἐλπίδος), through which

---

(1) ἀθέτησις : Heb 7,18;9,26. ἀθετέω : Mk 6,26;7,9;Lk 7,30; 10,16; Jn 12,48; 1 Cor 1,19; Gal 2,21;3,15;1 Thess 4,8;1 Tim 5,2; Heb 10,28; Jude 8. The word is originally a juridical term: declaration of invalidity (Ungueltigkeitserklaerung, Walter Bauer), which comes often in papyri. τὴν δ[ια]γραφὴν εἰς ἀθέτησιν καὶ ἀκύρωσιν. "the decree to be annulled and cancelled" (BGU I,44,16, A.D.102, quoted in Moult-Mill. p.12). Cf. A.Deissmann, Neue Bibelstudien, 1897,pp.55f.

(2) B.F.Westcott,op.cit.,p.186.

(3) "Infirmitatem habebat lex, quia operantes se non valebat juvare: inutilitatem vero, quia nemini regnum caelorum valebat aperire." (Primasius, quoted in B.F.Westcott,op.cit.,ad loc.).

(4) Ibid., ad loc.

we draw near to God." The law may awaken a delusive hope, but the new covenant, on the contrary, gives a "better hope"(1), which leads man to the final goal.

ἐγγίζειν τῷ θεῷ is used in the Septuagint of priests (2). Here the text says, "through which [hope] we draw near to God." Whether this clause means that all the believers are priests, as it is expounded in 1 Pet 2,5.9; Rev 1,6; 5,10; 20,6 or not, is hard to settle in Hebrews (3). There is no textual support to suggest the idea of the priesthood of all believers. Thus far, however, we can say that through Christ's eternal-ever present priesthood, we the wandering people of God draw near to God.

III

7,20-22:

The construction of this section is: καὶ καθ' ὅσον .... κατὰ τοσοῦτο ... The protasis brings out the motive of oath (v.20a), which is further carried on by a comparison between old and new priesthood (v.20b-21). The apodosis, then, turns toward the idea of covenant (v.22). While the motive of oath is developed through

---

(1) Cf.6,18.19.
(2) Ex 19,22 (נָגַשׁ); Lev 10,3 (קָרַב),etc.
(3) "All believers are, in virtue of their Christian faith, priests: 1 Petr 2,5.9, etc. That which was before (in a figure) the privilege of a class has become (in reality) the privilege of all; and thus man is enabled to gain through fellowship with God the attainment of his destiny (τελείωσις)." (B.F.Westcott,op.cit.,p.187).

the comparison between Levitical and messianic priesthood in the protasis, the apodosis begins to bring a new idea of covenant to the foreground, which shall direct the following exposition. Thus oath (ὁρκωμοσία) and covenant (διαθήκη) stand in the center of 7,20-22. The characteristic of the new covenant is the oath, which is made to the Son by God (Ps 110,4) (1).

V.20a:

οὐ χωρὶς ὁρκωμοσίας(2): Not without taking an oath (has Christ received his office).

V.20b-21: a long explanatory periphrasis. The Levitical priest was appointed to the post without oath of God, for no words of an oath is reported about the Levitical priest. The Son, on the contrary, was appointed the high-priest by the divine oath, Ps 110,4.

διὰ τοῦ λέγοντος : Through him, who says, i.e. "God through the mouth of the Psalmist" (Westcott)(3).

V.22:

As the priesthood with oath is superior to that without oath, so

---

(1) Cf.O.Michel, op.cit.,p.173.
(2) ὁρκωμοσία (taking of an oath) is neuter plural of ὁρκωμόσιον, which like ἀντωμοσία has become the feminine singular of the first declension (Cf. Moult-Mill.p.458; also cf. Bl-Debr. § 119,3). The word occurs in N.T. only in Heb 7,20.21.28. It appears also in 1 Esdr 8,90; Ezek 17,18f.; Jos Ant.16,163. "The word ὁρκωμοσία ... expresses the whole action, and not simply the oath." (B.F.Westcott, op.cit.,p.188).
(3) Cf.10,30.

also the new covenant is superior to the old one (1). In the conception of oath is involved the idea of absoluteness and eternal validity. By taking of an oath God gave new and inviolable order. With this oath, at the same time, the old order is set aside. The time of Levitical priesthood is over. This inviolability is expressed by οὐ μεταμεληθήσεται and εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα .

κρείττονος διαθήκης γέγονεν ἔγγυος Ἰησοῦς :

ἔγγυος , as adjective: secured, reliable; as substantive:(= ἐγγυητής) one who gives security; surety, who in a guarantee-agreement takes upon himself all legal obligation (e.g. payment, etc.). The word is used very often in papyri in legal and other documents (2). The word is also used in LXX: 2 Macc 10,28. Sir 29,15 says: χάριτας ἐγγύου μὴ ἐπιλάθῃ, ἔδωκεν γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ὑπέρ σου ("Forget not the good offices of the surety, for he hath given his life for thee", transl. given in Charles). So the surety has to intercede in favour of the other with his own life.
in our present passage is used in this meaning. As Herbert Preisker puts it, "Hebrews emphasizes particularly this character of hope involved in salvation and, therefore, stresses the promises of God. In contrast to the Old Testament, Hebrews sees them not in words and oaths of God (6,17f.), but, as in primitive Christianity, He

---

(1) καθ' ὅσον .... κατὰ τοσοῦτο: a characteristic way of thinking of Hebrews. Cf.1,4;3,3;8,6.
(2) PPetr.III,41: εἰ οἱ πρότερον ὑπάρχου[σιν] ἔγγυοι, χρημάτισον Ἀ.κτλ. ., "If there are the former sureties, pay to A.,etc."; PGrenf.I.18,22; POxy.I.38,6, etc. (Moult-Mill.p.179).

sees that present and future are bound to the action of God in Jesus. Because Hebrews starts from the promise of God, he sees Jesus under the figure of surety. With life, death and ascension Jesus has guaranteed that the fulfilment must follow the beginning of salvation instituted by God."(1).

διαθήκη (בְּרִית , aram. קְיָם) means here the divine arrangement and disposition (2). The author follows Jer 31,31-34 (3). In Hellenistic colloquial language διαθήκη is understood as "testament" or "will" of a man (4). Though the colloquial terminology of the Hellenistic environment influenced the New Testament in general, the term διαθήκη here is used not in the meaning of "testament"(5). This is evident from the word ἔγγυος used in connection with διαθήκη. ἔγγυος διαθήκης here is a picture or figure to express what Christ does mean for "us". He is a surety for what God promised and arranged.

7,23-25:

καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείονές εἰσιν γεγονότες ἱερεῖς .....ὁ δὲ ....

(v.23-24): And while they were many in number ...., he holds his priesthood inviolable .... The Levitical priests were appointed many in number, successively one after another, because they were

---

(1) Free rendering of Preisker's presentation in ThWB.II,p.329. Cf. C.Spicq,op.cit.,II,p.289.
(2) Cf. J.Behm, διαθήκη in ThWB.II,esp.pp.133ff.
(3) Cf.8,8ff.
(4) Moult-Mill,p.148: "In papyri and inscrr. the word means testament, will with absolute unanimity, and such frequency that illustration is superfluous."
(5) But cf.9,16f. We shall discuss about διαθήκη later.

prevented by death from "continuing" (παραμένειν) in office (v.23)(1).

V.24: But he holds his priesthood inviolable (ἀπαράβατον)(2), because he abides forever. Vulgata: Hic autem eo quod maneat in aeternum sempiternum habet sacerdotium.

V.25:

ὅθεν : whence, consequently (3). Because this priesthood is final and permanent, Christ is able to fulfil completely the office of the priest.

σώζειν εἰς τὸ παντελές(4) may mean either "completely, wholly" (= παντελῶς, Bengel, Deltzsch, Westcott, Riggenbach), or "for all time" (= πάντοτε, Windisch, Moffatt, Strathmann, R.S.V.). However, if Christ is able to save man "wholly", then this man is

---

(1) παραμένειν is used in classical Greek since Homer on. It is also used in inscriptions, papyri, LXX and Jos.(Ant.11,309). The word means primarily to stay, remain: εὔχομαι παραμεῖναι αὐτόν ("I beg that he may stay"), Ignatius, Eph 2,1; with dat. of person: μένω καὶ παραμένω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ("I shall remain and continue with you all"), Phil 1,25; παρ. πρός τινά ("I will stay with you"), 1 Cor 16,6 (παραμενῶ: p^{46} ℵ ℜ D G pl; καταμενῶ : B 1739 pc). Then it means to remain or continue in office: Heb 7,23, cf. Jas 1,25.

(2) Hapax legomenon. The word belongs to the later Greek. It does not occur in LXX, but is used in Plutarchus, Epictetus, Philo, Josephus, etc., in the meaning of "inviolable", "imperishable", or "immutable". The same usage can be seen in papyri. In PRyl.ii,65, 18 (B.C.67?) a judgement ends with καὶ τἄλλα τὰ δι' αὐτῆς διωρισμένα μένειν κύρια καὶ ἀπαράβατα, "valid and inviolate". So also in PGrenf.I,60,7; PLond.1015,12,etc. (Moult-Mill. p.53). Following Chrysostoms and Oecumenius, Moffatt and Spicq understand the word as "non transferable" (μὴ παραβαίνουσιν εἰς ἄλλον) without documentation.

(3) ὅθεν is favourite word of Hebrews (2,17; 3,1;7,25;8,3;9,18;11, 19), which does not occur in Paul.

(4) Cf.Lk 13,11.

saved "for all time". We may, therefore, perhaps render the phrase in either way.

τοὺς προσερχομένους δι'αὐτοῦ τῷ Θεῷ : προσέρχεσθαι is not used in this sense elsewhere in the New Testament except 1 Pet 2,3. προσέρχεσθαι τῷ Θεῷ is originally a cultic-priestly act of the Old Testament (Ex 16,9; Lev 9,5; 21,17f.,22,3). It is also used in the same sense in later documents of papyri (1). The phrase says, "those who draw near to God through Christ." His death (10,19), his intercession (7,25) and his surety (7,22) are the foundation for that which takes place in "draw near" (2).

πάντοτε ζῶον εἰς τὸ ἐντυγχάνειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν(3): The whole life of the exalted Christ is the ministry. He lives always in order to intercede for his "people"(4).

This section (7,23-25) establishes the eternity of Christ's priesthood. "It is held uninterruptedly by one Ever-Living Priest" (Westcott). Thus he is able to fulfil completely the office of the priest: to save those who draw near to God through him, always living and making intercession for them.

---

(1) Vide supra, chap.5,sect II on 4,16.
(2) Cf.O.Michel,op.cit.,p.176. Cf. also Jn 14,6: ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἡ ζωή· οὐδεὶς ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ δι' ἐμοῦ.
(3) ἐντυγχάνειν occurs 5 times in the N.T.: Acts 25,24; Rom 8,27. 34; 11,2; Heb 7,25. The technical use of the verb "petition", "appeal" is attested in papyri, e.g. PTebt.I,58,43 (B.C.111),etc. (cf. Moult-Mill. p.219). Cf. also Walter Bauer.
(4) In Philo Logos is an intercessor, cf. Migr Abr.122 (τὸν ἱκέτην .... λόγου).

IV

7,26-28:

In this section the author summarizes the whole of chapter 7. He brings out those features of Christ's high-priesthood which are most significant, and, at the same time, prepares the way for the further development of his thought.

With 7,26 begins the "we"-style (ἡμεῖς). 7,26, is like a short "Christ-hymn" of four lines.

τοιοῦτος γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ ἔπρεπεν ἀρχιερεύς,
ὅσιος, ἄκακος, ἀμίαντος,
κεχωρισμένος ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν,
καὶ ὑψηλότερος τῶν οὐρανῶν γενόμενος.

This "hymn reminds us of the Melchizedek-hymn (7,3), corresponding to it at the end of the chapter. In 7,27f. the author presents the further features of Christ as the high-priest (1).

V.26:

1. First line:

τοιοῦτος looks backwards and rarely forward (2). Here the word summarizes the characteristic feature of high-priest (3): he is greater than Abraham (7,6), named after the new order (7,11), a

---

(1) Cf.Michel,op.cit.,p.176f.
(2) Cf.Bl-Debr.§ 290,3.
(3) Cf.8,1.

priest by the power of indestructible life (7,16), confirmed by the divine oath (7,21), staying always in his office (7,25).

τοιοῦτος γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ ἔπρεπεν(1): "For it was fitting that we should have such a high-priest" (R.S.V.). ἔπρεπεν(2,10; 7,26), ὤφειλεν (2,17; 5,3.12), ἀνάγκη (7,12.27; 9,16.23) and ἀναγκαῖον (8,3) indicate that the understanding of the inner necessity of the divine act is concerned. This divine necessity, however, only the τέλειος can recognize.

2. Second line:

Out of the five attributes of Christ, the second line enumerates three: ὅσιος , ἄκακος and ἀμίαντος .

ὅσιος(2): Christ as high-priest is "holy", firstly in the sense of being consecrated to God as a priest. The usage of οἱ ἱερεῖς in parallel with οἱ ὅσιοι in Psalm 132 (131 LXX), 9.16 (3), the profane usage of ὅσιοι μύσται (Aristoph Ra.335) and the qualification of Christ as κεχωρισμένος ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν(Heb 7,26) may support

---

(1) καί :
om .... ℵ C 𝔓 pl latt
καί .... p^{46} BAD 1739 pc sy

(2) ὅσιος is used of Christ in Acts 2,27 (quotation from Ps 16,10); 13,34 (Is 55,3). 35 (Ps 16,10); of the Lord in Rev 15,4;16,5. It is used also of the bishop, Tit 1,8; and of hands in prayer, 1 Tim 2,8. In LXX the word occurs 55 times, out of which 25 are in the Psalms, where the word renders חָסִיד : ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁσίων (בְּקְהַל חֲסִידִים), Ps 149,1,etc.

(3) Ps 131 (LXX), 9: οἱ ἱερεῖς σου ἐνδύσονται δικαιοσύνην, καὶ οἱ ὅσιοί σου ἀγαλλιάσονται (כֹּהֲנֶיךָ יִלְבְּשׁוּ־צֶדֶק וַחֲסִידֶיךָ רַנֵּן).

this proposition. Votaries of the Orphic mysteries were called οἱ ὅσιοι (Plat Resp. III,363c). Secondly, Christ is "holy" in a cultic sense. In the Old Testament οἱ ὅσιοι designates the members of the chosen people (1), the devotees of Jahweh (2), those who obey the law of the Lord (3), trust in Him (Ps 86,2), love Him (Ps 31,24), etc. These ὅσιοι are specially mentioned in their cultic activities: they offer prayers and praise God (Ps 32,6; 145,10; 149,1). So also Christ, the high-priest, is "holy", because he accomplished the will of his Father (5,1-10); because of his εὐλάβεια (5,7). Thus having been perfected (τετελειώμενος , 7,28) and consecrated; he is able to approach God (4).

ἄκακος (5) is related with חָסִיד and חָסִיד (6). The word means "guileless", "without fault" or "without fraud". According to Bengel, Christ is ὅσιος "with respect to God", while he is ἄκακος "with respect to himself"(7).

---

(1) Sap 4,15: χάρις καὶ ἔλεος ἐν τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπισκοπὴ ἐν τοῖς ὁσίοις αὐτοῦ.
(2) Prov 10,29: ὀχύρωμα ὁσίου φόβος κυρίου (יְרְאַת יְהוָה לַתֹּם דֶּרֶךְ מָעוֹז)
(3) Sap 6,10: οἱ γὰρ φυλάξαντες ὁσίως τὰ ὅσια ὁσιωθήσονται.
(4) On ὅσιος, cf. Walter Bauer, and C.Spicq,op.cit.,II,pp.199f.
(5) Cf.Rom 16,18. Chrysostom on Is 53,9: ἄκακος τί ἐστιν; ἀπόνηρος, οὐχ ὕπουλος· καὶ ὅτι τοιοῦτος ἄκουε τοῦ προφήτου(quoted in Westcott). Philo, Spec Leg. iii,119: ".... with mere babes, who have just passed into the light and the life of human kind, not even a false charge can be brought against such absolute innocence (ἀκακωτάτοις οὖσιν)". Cf.1 Clem 14,4; Herm s. 9,24,2;9,30,2; Didache 3,8; Diog 9,2.
(6) Job 2,3: ἄνθρωπος ἄκακος (חָסִיד וְיָשָׁר), ἀληθινός , ἄμεμπτος , θεοσεβής , ἀπεχόμενος ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ. Cf. Job 8,20; 36,5; Ps 25 (24 LXX), 21.
(7) E.G.Bengel, Gnomon, ad loc.

ἀμίαντος: "stainless" in a cultic (2 Macc 14,36;15,34), religious (Jas 1,27; 1 Pet 1,4) and ethical (Heb 13,4) context. Here the word indicates that the high-priest is separated from the sins of the surrounding world, as Bengel says: "deriving no stain from other men" (nil labis trahens a ceteris hominibus).

Thus these attributes of Christ are cultic-priestly, while, on the other hand, they are historical-existential and not legal-ritual. Philo understands the terms in the same way: Because the high-priest is λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, he is "immune from all unrighteousness whether intentional or unintentional" (πάντων οὐχ ἑκουσίων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκουσίων ἀδικημάτων ἀμέτοχος, Fug.108), "undefiled, never coming into contact with a corpse" (ἀμίαντος .... μὴ προσαπτόμενος νεκροῦ σώματος, Spec Leg.i,113). In contrast to Hebrews, however, Philo is concerned with the identification of the idea of Logos with the priesthood and not with the historical existence of man (1).

3. Third and fourth lines:

After the three attributes thus far examined the remaining two follow: "separated from sinners" and "exalted above the heavens".

κεχωρισμένος ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν: The Halakha also knows a "separation" of the high-priest. Joma 1, 1 says: "Sieben Tage vor dem Versoehnungstag sondert man den Hohenpriester von seinem Hause ab לִשְׁכַּת nach der Halle der Vorsitzenden"(2). In the Law the

---

(1) Cf.O.Michel,op.cit.,p.178.
(2) Str-B.III,p.696.

high-priest is separated by men, while in Hebrews, the great high-priest is separated by God (1). "This 'separation' is, therefore, a special form of 'sanctification'(Joh) and is connected with exaltation"(2). This proposition of Michel's is intelligible in the light of 9,28. Jesus has offered himself "once (ἅπαξ) to bear the sins of many" and thus has done away the connection with sinners.

ὑψηλότερος τῶν οὐρανῶν γενόμενος(3): Here "heavens" enter as a separating sphere between God and man, between the Holy Place and this world. Like the Gnostic "place of light" (Lichtort)(4) the Holy Place is above heavens, where powers and principalities are (5). The "ascension" through heavens is not without danger for the one who ascends, since he may be attacked by those powers of the intermediate spaces. Thus Eph 4,10 and Heb 7,26 sound as an Apocalyptic-Gnostic testimony of the triumphant procession of the exalted one (6): He has as high-priest passed through all the intermediate spheres. The fourth and fifth attributes are thus closely related with each other, since the one who is beyond the heavens is alone fully separated from sinners (7).

---

(1) So also Test Lev 4,2: "Therefore the Most High hath heard thy prayer, to separate thee from iniquity, and that thou shouldest become to Him a son, and a servant, and a minister of His presence." (transl. given in Charles).
(2) O.Michel,op.cit.,p.179.
(3) Heb 4,14: ἀρχιερέα μέγαν διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανούς ----
Eph 4,10: ὁ ἀναβὰς ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν οὐρανῶν ----
(4) Cf.e.g.Ginza,14,20;18,16.19,etc.
(5) Cf.Test Lev,chap.3; Asc Jes,chap.7ff.
(6) Cf.H.Jonas, Gnosis und spaetantiker Geist,1934,pp.205ff. Vide supra, chap.5,sect.II on 4,14.
(7) Cf. O.Michel,op.cit.,p.179.

V.27:

Jesus' offering of himself on the cross occurred once (ἐφάπαξ) (1). ἐφάπαξ expresses "once-for-allness" of the historical event of Jesus' death. The term excludes the necessity and possibility of repetition. Jesus' offering occurred once and for all. The earthly high-priest, on the contrary, must offer the double sacrifice daily (καθ' ἡμέραν), "first for his own sins and then for those of the people." The expression used here by the author is not exact. He may have confused the daily Tamid-offering with the double offering of the Day of Atonement, or else all other offerings are viewed by him in the light of that which takes place on the Day of Atonement (2). καθ' ἡμέραν: ἐφάπαξ and θυσίας (-αν) ἀναφέρειν: ἑαυτὸν προσ(ἀνα-)φέρειν present fine contrast. In the first contrast is involved the idea that every repetition shows its ineffectiveness, while "once-for-allness" brings truth and fulfilment (10,1-4)(3). The second contrast shows that

---

(1) In the N.T. ἐφάπαξ is a terminus technicus for expressing the finality and once-for-allness of Christ's death and of atonement accomplished through his death. "Die 'Erleuchtung'(6,4), die 'Reinigung'(10,2), die 'Heiligung'(10,10) sind einmalig und tragen im Hb das Kennzeichen des ἅπαξ (ἐφάπαξ). Auch das Opfer Christi is einmalig (7,27;9,28), und von seinem Hingang zum Vater gilt dasselbe (9,12). Das Kommen des Christus in die Welt is einmalig (9,26), und sein Erscheinen in der Parusie darf nicht als Wiederholung eines Suehnevorganges verstanden werden (9,28). Man kann von einer besonderen Theologie der 'Einmaligkeit' der Geschichte im Hb sprechen, obwohl neben ihm Roem 6,10 und 1 Petr 3,18 zu beachten sind." (O. Michel, op.cit.,p.215,note 1). The word occurs five times in the N.T.: Rom 6,10;1 Cor 15,6;Heb 7,27;9,12;10,10. Cf.ThWB.I,pp.832f.

(2) καθ' ἡμέραν --- πρότερον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων ἁμαρτιῶν θυσίας ἀναφέρειν, ἔπειτα τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ involves a difficult problem. Is the daily Tamid-offering meant here, or the offering on the Day of Atonement? On this exegetical problem, cf. Str-B.III,p.697; O. Michel,op.cit.,pp.179f., C.Spicq,op.cit.,II,pp.201f.

(3) Cf. also 9,12.

Christ did not bring many offerings, but he offered himself. As we have seen, chapter 7 has begun with the presentation of a king, who was at the same time priest. It now ends with a proclamation of a priest who is at the same time king (Michel).

V.28:

The verse sums up the argument heretofore. The author contrasts the past and the present, the Law and the oath. In former times the Law appointed men in their weakness as high-priests. But the word of the oath, which came later than the Law (1), appoints a high-priest, who is the Son and made perfect forever. ἄνθρωπους ἔχοντες ἀσθένειαν and υἱὸς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τετελειώμενος are contrasted. ἀσθένεια (2) expresses the weakness of human existence itself. No man can escape from this weakness which constitutes the existence of man as man. The symptom of this weakness is his powerlessness and inability to resist temptation (cf.4,15;5,2). The earthly priesthood itself is not exception to this weakness. High-priests are weak. They are exposed without resistance to temptations. Jesus, on the contrary, though exposed, never yielded to temptations. He is made perfect on account of his obedience to his Father through all his sufferings (cf.5,1-10). On the last stage of his earthly life he offered himself as a perfect sacrifice (7,27;9,14) and received power and dignity, having been appointed the Son and the high-priest before God. As Michel puts it, "Im Gehorsam liegt die

---

(1) Cf.4,8;7,11.
(2) Vide supra, chap.5,sect.II.

Ueberbietung der Anfechtung, in der Ueberwindung der Anfechtung dagegen die Anwartschaft auf himmlische Vollmacht und Wuerde."(1).

In summa, the author speaks about the meeting of Abraham with a Canaanite king-priest Melchizedek. The wonderful characteristics of this man are presented, which point toward the priest of the end-time and his sharing of the divine eternity. The priesthood of Christ is thus foreshadowed by or typified in Melchizedek(7,1-3).

Then, the motive of tithe is developed in order to show the superiority of Melchizedek over Abraham and Levi (7,4-10).

This Melchizedek is the first sign of the falling off of the old priesthood and the beginning of a new order which through Christ is fulfilled at the end of days (7,11-14).

In 7,15-19 the author shows the cause of this change in orders of priesthood. The reason is this. While the old priest was appointed according to "a legal requirement concerning bodily descent", the new priest becomes a priest by "the power of an indestructible life". The νόμος of the old covenant and the δύναμις of the new covenant define the priesthood of the respective orders. While there is, on the one hand, a setting aside of a preparatory commandment, there is, on the other hand, the introduction of a better hope (ἐπεισαγωγὴ κρείττονος ἐλπίδος), through which "we draw near to God." Thus the new priesthood implies that the old Law is abrogated.

---

(1) O.Michel,op.cit.,p.182.

The author, then, compares the two orders of priesthood in terms of an idea of oath. The priest of the old order becomes the priest without oath, while the new priest takes his office with the divine oath (Ps 110,4). This confirmation and appointment by oath makes Jesus the surety of the new covenant (7,20-22).

The new priest holds his office inviolable, because he abides forever. He is able for all time to save those who draw near to God, since he always lives to make intercession for them. Thus the author establishes the eternity of Christ's priesthood (7,23-25).

Lastly, in 7,26-28 the author summarizes the whole of chapter 7. He brings out the most significant features of Christ foreshadowed by Melchizedek. He is "holy", "blameless", "unstained", "separated from sinners" and "exalted above heavens". This Christ offered sacrifice once for all, when he offered up himself. He is not, as the high-priest of the old order, appointed by the Law in his weakness, but appointed by the word of oath as the Son and high-priest, when he has been made perfect through his humiliation and exaltation.

In course of this presentation the author betrays here and there a Hellenistic-Jewish and Gnostic background.

Chapter 7

Christ as Mediator of the New Covenant

Soteriological Consequence of the Christ-Event for Mankind

In the foregoing chapter we have examined the author's presentation of Christ as high-priest (7,1-28). He developed the theme employing a typological method of exegesis: the king-priest, Melchizedek, as a type, and a priest-king as an antitype. In 8,1-10,18 Christ's high-priestly activity in the heavenly sanctuary is presented in terms of the following conceptions: 1) the new covenant (chap. 8); 2) the sacrifice of the new covenant in contrast with that of the old covenant (chap.9); 3) the uniqueness of this sacrifice (10, 1-18). This activity of Christ as high-priest is, indeed, the source of our eternal salvation (αἴτιος σωτηρίας αἰωνίου, 5,9). What the author aims at in this part is, therefore, to expose for the recipients of the Epistle the soteriological significance of the Christ-event by describing Christ's high-priestly activity. In this chapter we shall see how the author presents this soteriological consequence of Christ-event for mankind.

I

The topic of 8,1-6 is Christ's ministry (λειτουργία ,8,6) in the heavenly sanctuary, in contrast with that of earthly high-priests. In the Septuagint λειτουργία is used as a terminus technicus to express the priestly cult. The word occurs there some 40 times rendering עבד (1). The author of Hebrews takes up the word with this background in order to describe Christ's high-priestly activity. He says, every high-priest who serves a copy and shadow of the heavenly sanctuary (ὑποδείγματι καὶ σκιᾷ τῶν ἐπουρανίων,8,5)(2), is appointed to offer gifts and sacrifices (τὸ προσφέρειν δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίας ,8,2). On the other hand, the high-priest Christ, who serves in the heavenly true sanctuary (τῶν ἁγίων λειτουργὸς καὶ τῆς σκηνῆς τῆς ἀληθινῆς ,8,2), obtained a much more excellent ministry than the old as the covenant he mediates is better than the old covenant (8,6).

---

(1) λειτουργέω : Acts 13,2;Rom 15,27;Heb 10,11. λειτουργία :Lk 1, 23;2 Cor 9,12;Phil 2,17.30;Heb 8,6;9,21. λειτουργός: Rom 13,6;15, 16;Phil 2,25;Heb 1,7;8,2.

In LXX the word occurs, e.g. in Num 8,22: εἰσῆλθον οἱ Λευῖται λειτουργεῖν τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν (לַעֲבֹד אֶת־עֲבֹדָתָם) ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ μαρτυρίου;16,9: λειτουργεῖν τὰς λειτουργίας τῆς σκηνῆς κυρίου,etc. In O.T.Pseudepigrapha λειτουργός is used in the meaning of a minister in heaven, Test Lev 2,10;4,2,etc. Josephus used the terms λειτουργεῖν and λειτουργία exclusively with regard to priestly cult. Ant.20,218: λειτουργεῖν κατὰ τὸ ἱερόν ; Ibid.,3,107: λειτουργία ἕνεκα τοῦ θεοῦ . The same usage of the word can be seen in Philo, e.g. Spec Leg.i,82: λειτουργεῖν τὰς ἱερὰς λειτουργίας. In papyri λειτουργία is also used for sacerdotal ministration,e.g. Diod.Sic.i,21: τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς χώρας αὐτοῖς δοῦναι πρὸς τὰς τῶν θεῶν θεραπείας τε καὶ λειτουργίας; BGU.IV.1201,7(A.D.2): πρὸς τὰς λειτουργείας καὶ θυσείας τῶν θεῶν (Moult-Mill,p.373). Cf.ThWB.IV,221ff.

(2) On ὑπόδειγμα ,cf.9,23. On σκιά ,cf.10,1;Col 2,17;Philo, Som.i,206;Plant.27; Leg All.III,102.

Here a question arises. Is the λειτουργία-conception applied to the ministry in the heavenly sanctuary for the first time by our author, or are there some parallels? Yes, there are parallels in Jewish and Gnostic sources. Test Lev describes the ascension of Levi (1). Guided by an angel Levi travels through seven heavens to stand before God at the end of his journey and to be his minister (λειτουργός , Test Lev 2,10). It was said to him, "Therefore the Most High hath heard thy prayer, to separate thee from iniquity, and that thou shouldest become to Him a son, and a servant, and a minister (λειτουργός) of His presence." (transl.given in Charles). When he was before the Most High who sits on the throne, it was said to him, "Levi,I have given thee the blessings of the priesthood until I come and sojourn in the midst of Israel."(5,1). Thus Levi traveled up to heaven before the throne of God and was appointed the priest. We can distinguish three phases of Levi's ascension: 1) ascension; 2) appearance before the throne of God; 3) divine appointment to the priesthood and the heavenly ministry. Though difference between the ascension of Levi and that of Christ in Hebrews is not to be overlooked, yet the parallelism between them is evident. Beside Levi's priesthood in heaven, priestly activities of angels also show parallelisms. Test Lev 3,5 says, "In the heaven next to it are the archangels, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous; offering to the Lord a sweet-smelling savour, a reasonable and a bloodless

---

(1) Vide supra chap.5,sect.II on 4,14.

offering."(Charles, text a)(1). According to Philo, the archangel, who is the highest logos in age and honour, "pleads with the immortal as suppliant for afflicted mortality..."(2). Parallels to the ascension of Christ are also found in Gnostic literature (3). From this observation we may conclude that the author's conception of Christ's high-priestly ministry in the heavenly sanctuary has a Hellenistic-Jewish and Gnostic background.

8,6 is closely connected with 7,22 and 9,15 (4). Christ is not only high-priest and sacrifice, but he is also the mediator and surety of the new covenant. He has both the Aaronic function of high-priest, and that of Moses as a mediator of the divine covenant (5) at once in a more excellent way than theirs. Being appointed the high-priest Christ obtained the ministry which is as much more excellent than the old as the covenant he mediates is better. ἐπὶ κρείττοσι ἐπαγγελίαις νενομοθέτηται(6) shows that the superiority of the new covenant consists in its enactment on "better promises".

---

(1) Cf.Test Dan 6,2;Test Lev 5,6;eth Enoch 39,5;40,6;47,1f.; Rev 8,3f. Cf.also foot note to Test Lev 5,6 in Charles.
(2) Philo, Rer Div Her. 205-6:(ὁ ἀρχάγγελος καὶ πρεσβύτατος λόγος) ἱκέτης μέν ἐστι τοῦ θνητοῦ κηραίνοντος ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄφθαρτον, πρεσβευτὴς δὲ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος πρὸς τὸ ὑπήκοον.
(3) Cf.Ginza,pp.271,26f.;500,28f.,etc. Vide supra chap.6,sect.II on 4,14. Cf.also H.Windisch,Excursus: Die hoherpriesterliche Himmelsfahrt Christi,in op.cit.,pp.66ff.
(4) Cf.12,24;1 Tim 2,5.
(5) Moses as μεσίτης ,cf.Ex 19,3ff.;9ff.,21ff.;20,18ff.;34,1ff., 29ff.; Lev 26,46;Dt 5,5;Gal 3,19.
Cf.ThWB.IV,pp.615ff., H.Schlier, ad Gal 3,19,in Der Brief an die Galater (Meyer Commentary), 10 ed.,1949.
(6) νομοθετέω occurs twice in the N.T. in pass.: Heb 7,11;8,6. It is implied that God is ὁ νομοθετῶν . Cf.Ps 83(LXX),7: εὐλογίας δώσει ὁ νομοθετῶν.

8,7-13 develops the promises of the new covenant by quoting Jer 31,31-34. According to 7,20-22 the new covenant is better, because Christ was appointed the priestly surety of the covenant with an oath:

> "The Lord has sworn
> and will not change his mind,
> 'Thou art a priest forever'"(Ps 110,4)(1).

This eternal priesthood of Christ as surety made the covenant better than the old one. 8,7-13 may perhaps imply this thought of 7,20-22. The explicit explanation of the new covenant is, however, that the divine disposition enacted the new covenant upon the better promises. The quotation of Jer 31,31-34 has an introduction (8,7) and a conclusion (8,13). Verse 7 says, if that first covenant had been faultless, "fulfilling perfectly the purpose to which it pointed" (Westcott)(2), there would have been no occasion for a second. As it is, Christ has come mediating the new covenant as God promised through the prophecy of Jeremiah.

Westcott has well analysed the Jeremiah-quotation by the author. He says as follows.

> "The promises of the New Covenant are developed in due order.
> 1. The wide range of the Covenant:
> It includes all the Old Covenant people: Israel and Judah(v.8).

---

(1) Cf.C.Spicq,op.cit.,II,p.294: "Au chap.VII,22,il(sc.notre auteur) infère della grandeur du prêtre selon l'ordre de Melchisédech, la grandeur de alliance dont il est le médiateur."
(2) Cf.7,18: "On the one hand, a former commandment is set aside because of its weakness and uselessness (for the law made nothing perfect); on the other hand, a better hope is introduced, through which we draw near to God." Cf. also 7,11;7,28;9,9;10,11.

2. Its character:
(a) Negatively:
Not after the type of that on which the people was first established (v.9).
(b) Positively:
Internal (v.10). Uniformly efficacious (v.11). Resting on complete forgiveness (v.12)"(1).

However, as Moffatt puts it, "the real interest of the writer in this Jeremianic oracle is shown when he returns to it in 10,16-18; what arrests him is the promise of a free, full pardon at the close" (2): "For I will be merciful toward their iniquities, and I will remember their sins no more."(8,12.R.S.V.). This interpretation is supported by 9,15, where the author says, "Therefore he is the mediator of a new covenant, so that those who are called may receive the promised eternal inheritance, since a death has occurred which redeems them from the transgressions under the first covenant."(R. S.V.). The promise of the remission of sin is what the author has in his mind when he quoted Jer 31,31-34 (3). This promise is fulfilled in Christ, when, through his own death and sacrifice, he was appointed the high-priest to act as the mediator of the new covenant (4).

Through this prophecy God treated the old covenant as obsolete (πεπαλαίωκεν τὴν πρώτην, sc. διαθήκην). Or we may say that the prophecy of Jeremiah foreshadowed the falling off of the old covenant

---

(1) B.F.Westcott, op.cit.pp.220f.
(2) J.Moffatt, op.cit., p.109.
(3) C.Spicq, op.cit., II, p.239: "Les promesses de la διαθήκη nouvelle sont meilleures parce qu'elles recevront leur accomplissement grâce au Christ, rien ne pourra en empêcher la réalisation, pas même les péchés (v.12). Tel est, semble-t-il, le sens de la citation de Jérémie."
(4) Cf.Mt 26,28: τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυννόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.
Heb 9,15: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο διαθήκης καινῆς μεσίτης ἐστίν, ὅπως .... τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν λάβωσιν οἱ κεκλημένοι τῆς αἰωνίου κληρονομίας.

(ἐγγὺς ἀφανισμοῦ). Now Christ the mediator of the new covenant has come. The prophecy of the better promise is fulfilled. With this the reason of the existence of the old covenant is done away (8,13).

II

The theme of chapter 9 is the conception of sacrifice. The cult and accoutrements of the first covenant are surpassed and abolished by the high-priest Christ, by means of his self-sacrifice. With this sacrifice the new covenant is instituted (μεσίτης) and guaranteed (ἔγγυος) as effective for ever.

The high-priestly service of Christ is centered on his own sacrifice. The author begins his account of this service of Christ with a brief sketch of the earthly sanctuary and its accoutrements (9,1-5). εἶχε μὲν οὖν corresponds with δέ in the verse 11 (1). εἶχε μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ πρώτη (sc.σκήνη) ... Χριστὸς δὲ παραγενόμενος (2).

Then follows the description of the service of the priests and the high-priest in this sanctuary (vv.6-10). The priests enter continually (κατ' παντός) into the Holy Place, while the high-priest enters once a year into the Holy of Holies, not without special ceremonies. As it is, there was no free access to God in the old dispensation. The people could approach Him only through their

---

(1) Cf.O.Michel,op.cit.,p.201. Westcott and Spicq refer εἶχε μὲν οὖν .... to δέ in v.6.
(2) Cf.Philo, Vit Mos.ii,46; Rer Div Her.226.

representatives. This implies that the way to the heavenly sanctuary (τὰ ἅγια = ἡ σκηνὴ ἡ ἀληθινή,8,2)(1) is not opened yet. This concession is not given by the old covenant itself, but the Holy Spirit indicates it, so that the old covenant may be understood in its proper meaning (v.8). The whole cult and accoutrements of the earthly sanctuary (ἥτις)(2) are a symbol for the present age (παραβολὴ εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τὸν ἐνεστηκότα)(3). The present age (= ὁ αἰὼν ὁ ἐνεστώς, Gal 1,4) is set against the new age (καιρὸς διορθώσεως). It is the time of sacrifice and of the first tabernacle. The gifts and sacrifices offered therein are not able to perfect the conscience of the worshippers (v.9). The new age, on the other hand, consists in the worship of God in the heavenly sanctuary. Christ has opened the way upward to this sanctuary, and he himself is the leader (ἀρχηγός) and forerunner (πρόδρομος) before his people.

Over against the description of the old covenant (9,1-10) 9,11-14 presents Christ and his entering into the Holy of Holies (εἶχε

---

(1) Cf.O.Michel, ad loc. "τῶν ἁγίων = the very Presence of God" (Moffatt ad loc.). ἡ τῶν ἁγίων ὁδός is the way to the (heavenly) sanctuary (cf.10,19). ἡ τῶν ἁγίων ὁδός, τουτέστιν, ἡ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἴσοδος (Theophylact quoted in Westcott). In 10,20 Christ himself is ὁδὸς πρόσφατος καὶ ζῶσα. Here the Gnostic understanding of ὁδός as a symbol for salvation shows itself. The way is an upward way of salvation to the heavenly sanctuary. Cf. O.Michel,op.cit., p.199, note 2.

(2) Cf. Windisch, Michel and Spicq, ad loc.

(3) παραβολή is a form of Jesus' teaching in the Synoptics, while in Hebrews neither a conception is explained, nor a picture is brought in, but rather an historical action or occurrence is interpreted as a symbol or type of another historical action or occurrence, the correspondence being established by the Holy Spirit. So παραβολή is a mark of a typological interpretation of the Holy Scripture. Cf. O.Michel,op.cit.,p.200.

The word occurs in the Synoptics and Hebrews, and in no other writings of the N.T. Matt:17 times;Mk:13;Lk:18;Heb:2 in 9,9 and 11,9.

μὲν οὖν .... Χριστὸς δέ). According to the arrangement of the old covenant, gifts and sacrifices are offered which can not perfect the conscience of the worshippers (v.9). "But when Christ appeared as a high-priest of the good things that have come (1), then through the greater and more perfect tent he entered once for all into the Holy Place, taking not the blood of goats and calves, but his own blood, thus securing an eternal redemption."(vv.11-12). As the earthly high-priest enters the earthly sanctuary on the Day of Atonement, so Christ enters the heavenly sanctuary. The Day of Atonement of the old covenant is a type, or a prefiguration which is fulfilled in the death of Jesus. The sinless has shed his blood of sacrifice before the gate of Jerusalem (13,12) and with this blood he entered once for all into the Holy of Holies, passing through the sanctuary (διὰ τῆς .... σκηνῆς). Thus he secured an eternal redemption (αἰωνίαν λύτρωσιν εὑράμενος,9,12). Here the emphasis is on "once for all" (ἐφάπαξ) (cf.7,27;10,10), which refers to this "historical" uniqueness of Christ's work (2). As a matter of fact, Good Friday is the day of atonement of the world. The atoning work of Christ has, therefore, eternal validity (3). Vv.13-14 expound the soteriological implication of the Christ-event described in vv.11-12. "For if sprinkling defiled persons with the blood of goats and bulls and with the ashes of a heifer sanctifies for the purification of the flesh, how much more shall the blood of Christ,

---

(1) μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν .... ℵ A ℜ pl f vg sy^{hmg}
γενομένων ἀγαθῶν .... p^{46} B D 1739 pc it sy
(2) Vide supra, chap.6, sect.IV on 7,27.
(3) Cf. J.Jeremias, Zwischen Karfreitag und Ostern,ZNW 42(1949), pp.197ff.

who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without blemish to God, purify your (1) conscience from dead works to serve the living God(2)" (vv.13-14. R.S.V.). Already in the old covenant the blood purifies the defiled (3). The sacrifice of animals brings a cultic purity with regard to the flesh, without purifying the heart and conscience. The sacrifice of animals has only a limited efficacy. Hence it must be offered by the high-priest year by year, without ever reaching the perfection aimed at. Now the self-sacrifice of Christ surpasses this animal-sacrifice of the old covenant. εἰ γὰρ τὸ αἷμα τράγων καὶ ταύρων ....., πόσῳ μάλλον is a rabbinic form of inference from the minor to the major (4). A more excellent sacrifice acquires a deeper result. The blood of Christ purifies the conscience from dead works and enables man to serve the living God (v.14). As Michel puts it, by the "blood of Christ" Hebrews does not mean a matter or substance, but an act (5), as the following relative sentence makes clear: Christ has offered himself through the eternal Spirit (6), which is another expression for the Holy

---

(1) συνείδησιν ἡμῶν .... AD* KP al 1739 it vg^{cl} sy
συνείδησιν ὑμῶν .... ℵ 𝔎 pm vg^{codd} sy^{h}
(2) Θεῷ ζῶντι .... p^{46} BDK
Θ. ζ. καὶ ἀληθινῷ .... AP pc
(3) Cf.ThWB.I,pp.171ff.
(4) Cf.O.Michel,op.cit.,p.205. Cf. also Heb 10,29.
(5) Cf.J.Behm, in ThWB.I,p.173: "Das Interesse des NT haftet nicht an dem Blute Christi als Stoff, sondern an seinem vergossenen Blut, dem ihm gewaltsam genommenen Leben; 'Blut Christi' ist wie 'Kreuz' nur ein anderer, anschaulicher Ausdruck fuer den Tod Christi in seiner Heilsbedeutung."
(6) διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου .... 𝔓 𝔎
διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου .... D* P al latt

Spriti (1). Thus the self-offering of Christ is determined by the objectivity of the Holy Spirit, which is not owned by Christ, but is the power through which Christ does what he does.

III

9,15-22 explains the deeper significance of Jesus' death, which event was interpreted in terms of his own sacrifice in the foregoing section (9,11-14). Since Jesus' death is, according to the author's interpretation of Jeremiah 31,31-34, an establishment of the new covenant (8,8-13), his death is an expression of the necessity of the divine disposition. The author seeks to understand this disposition of God to save man in the historical event of Jesus' death. And he expresses it in terms of Christ's mediatorship of the new covenant. Here we should examine the implied meaning of διαθήκης καινῆς μεσίτης (9,15) (2).

---

(1) With Michel (op.cit.,p.206) we understand πνεῦμα αἰώνιος synonymously with πνεῦμα ἅγιος. Delitzsch, Westcott and Spicq take πνεῦμα αἰώνιος as Christ's "eternal spirit" (His inseparable and unchangeable Divine Nature) (Westcott, ad loc.) or "sa personalité même ou sa puissance propre"(Spicq, ad loc.). H.Windisch,op.cit., p.74: "Ein Wesen, das ewigen Geist hatte, opferte sich selbst." Strathmann says as follows: "Diese Selbstopfer war ermoeglicht durch 'ewigen Geist', also durch den Geist Gottes, der sein Verhalten bestimmte, ihn in die Ewigkeit hineinhob und es ihm ermoeglichte, eine 'ewige Erloesung' zu bewirken, ein Hoeherpriester in Ewigkeit zu sein." (op.cit.,p.122).
(2) Cf.ThWB.II,pp.127ff.

διαθήκη:

1. Greek conception of διαθήκη . The word is used in the meaning of 1) state, condition (= διάθεσις): κατὰ σώματος διαθήκην, Sext Emp Math.VII,136; 2) compact, covenant: ἢν μὴ διαθῶνται διαθήκην ἐμοί , Aristoph Av.440. The word had been used most frequently in the meaning of 3) testament, disposition of property by will. The word in this sense is a terminus technicus in Greek legal terminology of all ages, Plat Leg.XI, 923e; Epict Diss.II,13,7; PPetr.III,6 (b), 12(c.B.C.236); OGIS.338,7 (B.C.133); BGU,IV,1151,7 (B.C.14); POxy. 1201,8(A.D.258)(1).

2. διαθήκη in the Septuagint and the Jewish literatures.

When the Septuagint rendered בְּרִית with διαθήκη (2), it did so in many passages in the meaning of covenant or legal accord (contract), e.g. Gen 21,27.32; 1 Sam 23,18; 1 Kings 15,19; Ps 82 (LXX), 6; Jes 28, 15(3). The often used formula of διατίθεσθαι διαθήκην μετά τινος or ἀνὰ μέσον τινὸς καί τινος (e.g. 1 Kings 15,19) points toward an establishment of an accord or a covenant between two parties. Even in those passages, where God is the

---

(1) Cf.ThWB.II,p.127; Moult-Mill.pp.148f.; Liddell-Scott. Vide supra chap.6, sect.III on 7,22.
(2) LXX renders בְּרִית with διαθήκη some 270 times, besides 5 times in Sir.
(3) Gen 21,27: καὶ ἔλαβεν Αβρααμ πρόβατα καὶ μόσχους καὶ ἔδωκεν τῷ Αβιμελεχ, καὶ διέθεντο ἀμφότεροι διαθήκην: וַיִּקַּח אַבְרָהָם צֹאן וּבָקָר וַיִּתֵּן לַאֲבִימֶלֶךְ וַיִּכְרְתוּ שְׁנֵיהֶם בְּרִית
1 Sam 23,18: καὶ διέθεντο ἀμφότεροι (sc. Δαυιδ καὶ Ιωναθαν) διαθήκην ἐνώπιον κυρίου.
1 Kings 15,19: Διάθου διαθήκην ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον σοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ πατρός μου καὶ τοῦ πατρός σου ....

initiator of the covenant, the expression of ἀνὰ μέσον or μετά reminds the reader of the relationship of accord (1). διαθήκη is also used as the rendering of תּוֹרָה (Dan 9,13); עֵדוּת ("statute", Ex 27,21; ark of "the testimony", Ex 31,7, etc.); דָּבָר ("word" of the Lord, Deut 9,5) or בְּרִית (2 Chron 25,4)(2). When διαθήκη is used as a synonym of νόμος, etc., it can not mean accord or covenant, but rather arrangement, regulation or disposition. This context excludes often the conception of covenant and leads us toward the idea of onesides arrangement, or authoritative disposition (Num 25,12f.; Jos 24,25, etc.) (3). Then διαθήκη became the expression for the anouncement of Jahweh's will on mount Sinai. Here the word means divine arrangement or disposition (Ex 34,27f.; Deut 4,13; 5,2 ff.). It further means what is written down on the two stone tables, which are kept in the κιβωτὸς τῆς διαθήκης (Deut 9,11; Ex 31,7,etc.). Finally διαθήκη is used in the meaning of the divine disposition, by which God establishes various religious statutes (Gen 6,18; 9,9ff.; 15,18; 17,2ff.; Ex 2,24; Lev 24,8; Deut 4, 23; Josh 7,11, etc.).

As it is evident from above, διαθήκη in the Septuagint is not an unequivocal conception, but rather it oscillates between the meaning of "covenant" and "disposition". This could not simply be

---

(1) Cf.e.g.Gen 9,15: μνησθήσομαι τῆς διαθήκης μου, ἣ ἐστιν ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον πάσης ψυχῆς ----- Cf.further Gen 9,17; Judg 2,1; Jer 14,21; Ezek 16,8.

(2) 2 Chron 25,4: κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην τοῦ νόμου κυρίου (כַּכָּתוּב בְּתוֹרַת)

(3) Num 25,12f.: Ἰδοὺ ἐρῶ δίδωμι αὐτῷ διαθήκην εἰρήνης, καὶ ἔσται αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτὸν διαθήκη ἱερατείας αἰωνία.

explained in the way the Greek conception of διαθήκη implies these two possibilities, but these implications of the word may have derived from the complex content of the conception of בְּרִית itself, which the Septuagint tries to comprehend. Through this effort, the Septuagint must have perceived that the originally juridical concept of בְּרִית became the bearer of strongly religious ideas, which proceeded, through the idea of a contract between God and man, toward the idea of a free anouncement of the divine will to save man. In Jer 31,31-34 the conception of καινὴ διαθήκη is understood as the free gift of God, the anouncement of His will to save man and the revelation of His grace to remit the sins of man freely. The disposition and the anouncement of the will of God, who reveals Himself in history—this is the religious conception of διαθήκη in the Septuagint.

Philo uses συνθήκη for "covenant" or "contract"(1), and not διαθήκη. The religious idea of διαθήκη θεοῦ (2) seems to have reached him through the Septuagint. He emphasizes the moment of the divine will of grace contained in this conception (3). Philo, then, brings into this conception of the Old Testament the meaning of "testament"(4),

---

(1) Congr.78.
(2) Det Pot Ins.68:"...the fully accomplished man is guardian of the words and covenant of God"(λόγων καὶ διαθήκης θεοῦ φύλαξ).
Som.ii,224: "Justice and God's covenant are identical"(τὸ δίκαιον ἀδιαφορεῖ διαθήκης θεοῦ).
(3) Ibid.,ii,223: "He says of His covenant filled with His bounties (τὴν πλήρη χαρίτων διαθήκην ἑαυτοῦ), the highest law and principle, that is, which rules existent things, that this God-like image shall be firmly planted with the just soul as its pedestal."
(4) Spec Leg.ii,16: "Sometimes they carry on their vindictiveness after that end (sc.life's end)has come and leave directions in their wills against even granting the customary rites to his (sc. such and such person who is in enmity with them) corpse."

prevailing in the Hellenistic environment. He emphasizes, however, the sublimity of God in the Old Testament in contrast to human testament. Philo says, "While the gifts bestowed by others are not the same as the recipients, God gives not only the gifts, but in them gives the recipients to themselves. For He has given myself to me and everything that is to itself, since 'I will establish my covenant with thee' is the same as 'I will give thyself to thee'"(Som. ii,224)(1).

"Now covenants are drawn up for the benefit of those who are worthy of the gift, and thus a covenant is a symbol of the grace (σύμβολον εἶναι διαθήκην χάριτος) which God has set between Himself Who proffers it and man who receives." (Mut Nom. 52).
"Now the covenant of God is an allegory of His gifts of grace." (διαθήκη δ'ἐστὶ θεοῦ συμβολικῶς αἱ χάριτες)(Sacr AC.57).

Thus in Philo too the religious conception of διαθήκη shows itself through the veil of common understanding of the word as "testament". It is an expression for God's will of grace revealed in history.

In Josephus διαθήκη means a "will", "testament", or "testamentary provision". In Ant.13,349,13 it refers to the will of Cleopatra; in Ant.18,156,6 to that of Berenice. According to Burton (2), "the absence of διαθήκη in the sense of 'covenant' is apparently to be explained by his failure ever to speak of the covenant of God with his people."

---

(1) Colson comments on this passage as follows: "I understand the thought of §§ 224,225 to be: 1) the words 'I will make my covenant to stand to (or on) thee' give Noah the stability of the covenant and make him part of it as the pedestal of the statute; 2) as Noah is preeminently ὁ δίκαιος , the covenant also τὸ δίκαιον , 3) and as by the giving of the covenant δίκαιον is given to ὁ δίκαιος , Noah is given to himself."
(2) E.D.W.Burton, Galatians (ICC), repr. 1952,p.499.

The rabbinic Judaism retains the juridical side of the בְּרִית - conception. MEx 12,6: "Es gibt keine בְּרִית ausser dem Gesetze." בְּרִית was, however, mostly understood as circumcision (cf.Gen 17, 10). Hence בְּנֵי בְרִית (υἱοὶ τῆς διαθήκης)means "sons of circumcision"(1) and דַּם בְּרִית "the blood of circumcision"(2). So also Jer 31,31ff. is explained in the same way: God put the new Torah into Israel's heart. While the Torah of flesh and blood passes away, the new Torah shall abide forever (3).

3. διαθήκη in the New Testament (4).

Explaining the relationship between the promise of God and the law in Gal 3,15ff., Paul presents an example from the realm of human experiences (κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω) and compares the promise of God to Abraham with a διαθήκη of a man (5). Here in Gal 3,15 διαθήκη is understood as a will (or testament) of a man (6).

"To give a human example, brethren: no one annuls (ἀθετεῖ)even a man's will (7), or adds to it (ἐπιδιατάσσεται), once it has

---

(1) Str-B.II,p.627.
(2) Ibid.,I,p.991.
(3) Jalqut Schim on Jer 31,33: "In dieser Welt lernt Israel die Tora von Fleisch und Blut... Gleichwie Fleisch u.Blut dahingeht, so geht auch sein Erlerntes dahin ... Aber in der Zukunft lernen die Israeliten nur aus Gottes Mund; u.gleichwie Gott lebt u.besteht in Ewigkeit, so auch das von ihm Gelehrte." (Str-B. III,p.704).
(4) διαθήκη occurs 33 times (7 times in the O.T.quotation). Its distribution is as follows. Synoptics: 4; Acts:2;Pls:9;Hebrews:17; Rev:1.
(5) In Pauline writings διαθήκη occurs in the following passages. Rom 9,4;11,27;1 Cor 11,25;2 Cor 3,6.14; Gal 3,15.17;4,24;Eph 2,12.
(6) Cf.H.Schlier, Der Brief an die Galater, ad loc. In his interpretation of διαθήκη Burton stands decisively for "covenant". "By διαθήκη must be understood not 'testament' nor 'stipulation', 'arrangement', in a sense broad enough to cover both will and covenant, but as the usage of N.T. in general and of Paul in particular and the context here require, 'covenant' in the sense of the O.T בְּרִית ." (Burton, Galatians,p.179; cf.also Ibid.,p.501).
(7) R.S.V. reads διαθήκη "covenant" in margin.

been ratified (κεκυρωμένων). Now the promises were made to Abraham and to his offspring .... This is what I mean: the law, which came fourhundred and thirty years afterward, does not annul ( ) a covenant previously ratified by God, so as to make the promise void." (Gal 3,15-17.R.S.V.).

The use of such words as ἀθετέω, ἐπιδιατάσσομαι, κυρόω, ἀκυρόω, etc. shows that Paul uses here a juridical conception of διαθήκη taken from the Hellenistic environment as apicture language in order to exposit "Heilsgeschichte". When, however, Paul quotes Is 27, 9 (cf.Jer 31,33f.) in Rom 11,27, he takes up the διαθήκη -conception of the prophets in the meaning of the divine arrangement (or disposition) for salvation of man (1).

Rom 9,4: "They are Israelites, and to them belong the sonship, the glory, the covenants, the giving of the law, the worship, and the promises."
2 Cor 3,6: "...God, who has qualified us to be ministers of a new covenant(διακόνους καινῆς διαθήκης)".
Ibid., 3,14: "But their minds were hardened; for to this day, when they read the old covenant (παλαία διαθήκη), that same veil remains unlifted, because only through Christ is it taken away."

The παλαία διαθήκη in this last passage is the Mosaic law as the summa of the old religion. Though this old covenant is the διαθήκη of God and a historical anouncement of the same divine will as the new covenant, it was abolished by the new because of the insufficiency of its temporal character (2 Cor 3,10)(2). Thus in Paul the Old Testament conception of διαθήκη was used as a tool in his contention for the superiority of Christianity over Judaism. So his thoughts may run as follows: There are two διαθήκαι, but

---

(1) Rom 11,27: καὶ αὕτη αὐτοῖς ἡ παρ' ἐμοῦ διαθήκη, ὅταν ἀφέλωμαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν.
(2) Cf.also typological interpretation of Hagar-Sarah-story in Gal 4,24ff.

one divine will, which rules "Heilsgeschichte", and which ultimately revealed itself in Jesus Christ; he is the τέλος νόμου (Rom 10,4) and the fulfilment of all promises (2 Cor 1,20).

διαθήκη in Hebrews:

7,22: "This makes Jesus the surety of a better covenant (κρείττονος διαθήκης ἔγγυος)."
8,6: "But as it is, Christ has obtained a ministry which is as much more excellent than the old as the covenant he mediates is better ..."
8: "I will establish a new covenant with the house of Israel" (a quotation from Jer 31,31ff.).
9: "...not like the covenant that I made with their fathers."
9: "for they did not continue in my covenant..."
10: "This is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days ..."
9,4: "...the ark of the covenant covered on all sides with gold.."
4: "...the tablets of the covenant..."
15: "Therefore he is the mediator of anew covenant, so that those who are called may receive the promised eternal inheritance.."
15: "...which redeems them from the transgression under the first covenant."
16: "For where a will (διαθήκη) is involved, the death of the one who made it must be established."
17: "For a will (διαθήκη)takes effect only at death.."
20: "This is the blood of the covenant which God commanded you" (a modified quotation from Ex 24,8).
10,16: "This is the covenant that I will make with them after those days, says the Lord."(Jer 31,33).
29: "... the man who has spurned the Son of God, and profaned the blood of the covenant..."
12.24: "...Jesus, the mediator of a new covenant.."
13,20: "Now may the God of peace who brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, the great shepherd of the sheep, by the blood of the eternal covenant, equip you with everything good..."

Of these passages 9,16f. shows a distinct usage of the term. Here διαθήκη is used in the juridical sense of "testament", prevailing in the Hellenistic environment. "For where a διαθήκη is involved, the death of the one who made (ὁ διαθέμενος) must be established. For a διαθήκη takes effect only at death, since it is not in force (βεβαία) as long as the one who made it is alive."

(9,16.R.S.V.). This juridical conception of διαθήκη here, however, does not necessarily press us to conclude that the religious conception of διαθήκη must be used also in the sense of "testament". This is evident in the present passage itself. Having described the sublimity of Christ's high-priestly ministry in the heavenly sanctuary, who has secured an eternal redemption by offering himself once for all (9,1-14), the author explains the necessity of Christ's death for our salvation (""Heilsnotwendigkeit", J.Behm, in ThWB.IV,p.134) in 9,15ff. "Christ is the mediator of a new covenant, so that those who are called may receive the promised eternal inheritance."(9,15.R.S.V.). But what is the base upon which the necessary connection between Christ's death and the new covenant rests? The author answers this question in 9,16f. A διαθήκη (testament) presupposes the testator's death in order to be juridically effective. In other passages διαθήκη is used in the meaning of a covenant or "a disposition of God for salvation" ("Heilsverfuegung", A.Oepke, in ThWB.IV,p.624), which reveals the will of God to save man. The document wherefrom the author derives his theological idea of διαθήκη is Jer 31,31-34 quoted in 8,8-12 and 10, 16f. According to the Jeremiah-passage, the new covenant is not like the covenant, which God made with the Israelites' fore-fathers; His promises are threefold: 1) He will put His laws into their minds and write them on their hearts, so that a new relation is made between God and His people; 2) He will take away the mutual teaching of the people and reveal Himself equally to the great and the small; 3) He

will be merciful toward their iniquities, and will remember their sins no more (1).

The above observation shows that the author of Hebrews uses διαθήκη in the meaning of "covenant" and "testament", both of which have their origin in a juridical conception of διαθήκη . The emphasis of the divine promises, especially that of the free remission of sins, made by God in the new covenant indicates, however, that the implied meaning of διαθήκη is the disposition (or arrangement) and anouncement of the divine will to save man.

μεσίτης :

In order to effectuate this covenant Christ offered himself and became "the surety"(ἔγγυος ,7,22) and "the mediator"(μεσίτης ,8, 6; 9,15;12,24)(2). By this death Christ guarantees what God promised in this new covenant.

1. Hellenistic usage of μεσίτης :

The word means firstly 1) a confidant man, or a neutral man. This man can act as an arbitrator (Thuc.IV,83) and a negotiator for peace (Polyb.28,17,8) as well. According to the context the word acquires a meaning of a guarantee who guarantees an agreement reached. Hence μεσίτης becomes a synonym of (μετ)έγγυος : a surety (3). The above usage is attested also in papyri. μεσίτης as "arbiter" occurs commonly in connexion with legal transaction,e.g. PLille.28,11

---

(1) Cf.O.Michel,op.cit.,p.190.
(2) ἔγγυος : hapax legomenon in the N.T. μεσίτης occurs 5 times in the N.T., sc. Gal 3,19;1 Tim 2,5;Heb 8,6;9,15;12,24.
(3) Vide supra chap.6, sect.III on 7,22.

(ii/B.C.): αὐτοῖς ἐδώκαμεν μεσίτην Δωρί[ω]νι[α] . In PLond. 370(ii/iii A.D.) μεσίτης is used perhaps as "surety" for a debt. μεσίτης is also used in reference to business transactions: POxy.X.1298, 19(iv A.D.), σὺ τούτου μεσίτης , "you being intermediary in this"(1).

Beside this technical meaning, 2) μεσίτης means a man who stands in the middle in the context of space. Lastly, 3) the word occurs in the meaning of a mediator, or a negotiator.

2. μεσίτης in the Israelitic and Jewish usage:

In the Septuagint μεσίτης occurs only once in Job 9,33: εἴθε ἦν ὁ μεσίτης ἡμῶν καὶ ἐλέγχων καὶ διακούων ἀνὰ μέσον ἀμφοτέρων: לֹא יֵשׁ־בֵּינֵינוּ מוֹכִיחַ יָשֶׁת יָדוֹ עַל־שְׁנֵינוּ (2). ὁ μεσίτης here is the rendering of בֵּינֵינוּ . In 1 Sam 17,4 a warrior, who comes out between two armies and determines the war by a single combat, is called אִישׁ הַבֵּנַיִם (3), which the Septuagint renders ὁ ἀνὴρ δυνατός (v.4) or ὁ μεσαίος (v,23). In the Hebrew Old Testament and the Septuagint there does not exist a fixed expression for the conception of "mediator".

First in post-Biblical Hebrew and Aramic there appears a religiously technical expression for the conception of "mediator":

---

(1) Cf.Moult-Mill,p.399.
(2) "There is no umpire between us, who might lay his hand upon us."
(3) 1 Sam 17,4: καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἀνὴρ δυνατὸς ἐκ τῆς παρατάξεως τῶν ἀλλοφύλων, Γολιαθ ὄνομα αὐτῷ ἐκ Γεθ .. : וַיֵּצֵא אִישׁ־הַבֵּנַיִם מִמַּחֲנוֹת פְּלִשְׁתִּים גָּלְיָת שְׁמוֹ מִגַּת
Ibid., 17,23: ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ ὁ μεσαίος ἀνέβαινεν Γολιαθ ὁ φιλιστιαίος ὄνομα αὐτῷ ἐκ Γεθ(text OL): וְהִנֵּה אִישׁ הַבֵּנַיִם עֹלֶה גָּלְיָת הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי שְׁמוֹ מִגַּת

aram. אַרְסוֹן. This expression originated not from the juridical, but commercial language. It denotes a "broker", "middleman", or "negotiator". "DtR 3:R.Jicchaq (um300) hat gesagt: Unsere Lehrer haben gelehrt: Wenn das Fass zerbrochen wurde, ist es dem Unterhaendler סַרְסוּר zerbrochen (der Makler zwischen Kaeufer und Verkaeufer hat den Schaden zu tragen). Gott sprach zu Mose: Du bist der Unterhaendler (der Mittler סַרְסוּר = μεσίτης) zwischen mir u. meinen Kindern gewesen; du hast (die Tafeln) zerbrochen, du musst Ersatz leisten!"(1).

Josephus used μεσίτης in the meaning of "arbitrator" (Ant.16, 118), "guarantee, surety"(Ant.4,133), or "middleman" (Ant.16,24).

In Philo μεσίτης is used synonymously with διαιτητής (arbitrator) (2) and διαλλάκτης(reconciler)(3). But other synonyms such as κηδέμων (protector) and παραιτητής(intercessor)(4) indicate that the term μεσίτης is used here in a different context from a juridical- or commercial context in which μεσίτης is a neutral arbitrator between two parties. Rather the conception of "mediator" may have acquired a deeper meaning in a religious context. In fact

---

(1) Str-B.III,p.512.
(2) Som.i,142: ὅτι τοῖς ἐπικήροις ἡμῖν συνέφερε μεσίταις καὶ διαιτηταῖς λόγοις χρῆσθαι ..."... that it wasaboon to us in our sad case to avail ourselves of the services of 'words' acting on our behalf as mediators..."
(3) Vit Mos.ii,166: καταπλαγεὶς δὲ καὶ ἀναγκασθεὶς πιστεύειν ἀπίστοις πράξεσιν οἷα μεσίτης καὶ διαλλακτὴς οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀπεπήδησεν. ("... struck with dismay, and compelled to believe the incredible tale, he yet took the part of mediator and reconciler and did not hurry away at once.").
(4) Ibid.: εἶτ' ἐξευμενισάμενος ὁ κηδημὼν καὶ παραιτητὴς τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐπανήει χαίρων αἴμα καὶ κατηφῶν... ("Then, when this protector and intercessor had softened the wrath of the Ruler, he wended his way back in mingled joy and dejection.").

Philo uses μεσίτης almost exclusively in a religious connection. As the passages quoted above show, Logos and Moses act as "a mediator" between God and His people in the various functions of reconciler, protector and intercessor. As Goodenough finds in Philo, the "central pattern of the Jewish Mystery .... is the concept of the Divine Mediator, the Mystagogue who leads the worshipper into the inner secret of salvation by way of the Mystery."(1). Philo represents Moses as the μεσίτης par excellence (2).

In his "Hellenistic Mysticism in the Epistle to the Hebrews" (Dissertation, Yale,1952) R.S.Eccles has examined the Hellenistic elements of Hebrews, taking this theory of Goodenough's as a working hypothesis. Eccles concludes as follows: "We can conclude that the author of Hebrews wrote the Epistle to a particular group of Christian converts, presumably Hellenistic Jews, who had formerly worshipped by way of a form of mystical Judaism which represented Moses as the Supreme Mystagogue. The author of Hebrews represents Christ as Mystagogue and Christianity as a Mystery..." (Ibid., p.486) (3).

By this study of Eccles much light has been thrown on the conception of μεσίτης , which expresses the central function of Christ in the Epistle to Hebrews. Without going into detailed examination of Eccles' study we may thus far say that the author of Hebrews expounds the soteriological significance of the Christ-event by means of this conception of μεσίτης so deeply rooted in Hellenistic Judaism and Gnosis. We shall examine this latter in the following.

---

(1) Eccles,R.S.,Hellenistic Mysticism in the Epistle to the Hebrews, pp.484-5.
(2) E.R.Goodenough, By Light,Light,1935,p.192:"...Philo did think that Moses, the perfect Mystagogue, was the eternal priest of Israel and of the world, offering a mediation of which the temple cultus was only a cosmic reflection."
(3) Here I express my sincere gratitude to Dr.Eccles for granting me to read his dissertation, through the good office of Prof. Goodenough.

3. The conception of mediator in Gnosis.

In mandaean Gnosis, the idea of a mediator lies at the center. It is expressed by "the one who is sent"("Gesandter")(1). He is called Hibil-Zīwā and also identified with Ptahil. He represents Manda d'Haijē, the personified gnosis of life (2), as his son. His mission is to bring saving knowledge to the souls now bound in the prison of darkness, which is the body. So the son of the king of Light comes down to overcome the power of darkness. He proclaims the emancipating gnosis to the imprisoned souls and then goes up again to the world of light, breaking a hole through the matter. This son is an "Urmensch", who is the saver and the saved at the same time (der erloeste Erloeser). Being the son of the king of Light, he shares in the substance of pure light. Then he comes down into the realm of matter and darkness. Having completed his mission, he finally goes up again to the world of pure light through the spheres of planets. Thus his soteriological act is that of a mediator between the world of light and the world of man (3). The Hymn of the Soul in the Acts of Thomas tells a story about the

---

(1) Gesandter: Ginza,pp.14,26;15,21;89,6;98,11,etc.
(2) Manda d'Haijē: Ginza,pp.5,5;30,23;54,18;61,3,etc. Manda d' haijē "Die personifizierte Γνῶσις ζωῆς , die wie das 'Leben' im Mittelpunkt der mandaeischen Religion steht", Lidzbarski's note 6 in Ginza,p.5.
(3) A.Oepke, says on the problem of mandaean gnosis as follows: "Die uns vorliegenden Gedankenbilde (sc.der mandaeischen Religion) sind nach-, meist sogar spaetchristlich u.vom NT nachweislich beeinflusst, enthalten aber zugleich uraltes Gedankengut, ueber dessen Ursprung nach Land u.Rasse nur mit groesser Zurueckhaltung geurteilt werden darf." (ThWB.IV,p.611).

journey of a son of a king after a precious pearl (1). This act of the prince shows the same form as that of the son of the king of Light in the mandaean literature.

Having traced the usage of μεσίτης in Biblical and non-Biblical literature, we shall briefly review the Old Testament conception of "mediator", for which, as we have seen above, there was not yet a fixed technical expression. The Old Testament conception of "mediator" reached its culminating point in the figure of Moses (2). Ex 3, 1ff. tells us that Jahweh had a special relationship with Moses. It concerned the emancipation of the people of Israel. As the one sent by Jahweh, and as His speaker, Moses stands before the people (Ex 4, 29) and the king of Egypt (Ex 5,1). Being more fluent in speech than his brother, Aaron speaks to the people and Pharaoh as Moses' mouth, while the latter is God to his brother (3). So the mediator in the Old Testament sense is the commissioned speaker. Moses appears in this figure of mediator most conspicuously, when Jahweh had given the law through Moses (Ex 19,3ff.9ff.21ff.; 20,18ff.,etc.). He stands between Jahweh and the people. He takes over the instructions of Jahweh and hands them over to the people. Further, when the people

---

(1) Cf.Acts of Thomas, §§ 108-113.
(2) We can not enter here into the discussion about the problem of "mediating hypostasis" between Jahweh and the world such as מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה, יְהוָה רוּחַ and חָכְמָה, nor the problem of the servant of Jahweh in second Isaiah (cf.A.Oepke, in ThWB.IV,p.616).
(3) Ex 4,16: "He (sc.Aaron) shall speak for you to the people; and he shall be a mouth for you, and you shall be to him as God."

cry out to Moses for help, he supplicates Jahweh for them (1).

Rabbinic Judaism took over this conception of the mediator, expressing it by the term סָרְסוֹר. "μεσίτης=סָרְסוֹר; letzteres bezeichnet a. allgemein jeden Unterhaendler od. Makler, b. speziell Mose als den Mittler des Gesetzes."(2).

καινῆς διαθήκης μεσίτης in Hebrews: Now Hebrews took up this conception of "mediator", expressing it by the term of μεσίτης = סָרְסוֹר (3). The author of Hebrews goes, however, a step further than this understanding of mediator, when he describes the office of Christ as κρείττονος διαθήκης ἔγγυος(7,22). This usage of ἔγγυος suggests that the author is using the word synonymously with μεσίτης . But this is only possible, when he affords the term μεσίτης with its Hellenistic implication, sc. μεσίτης as "surety" in the meaning of the one who takes responsibility for another with his own property. Moreover, μεσιτεύειν in 6,17(4) may not possibly mean "to intermediate", or "to be a mediator", but rather

---

(1) Num 17,27f.(Hebr.text)(17,12f.R.S.V.): "And the people of Israel said to Moses, 'Behold, we perish, we are undone, we are all undone. Every one who comes near to the tabernacle of the Lord, shall die. Are we all to perish?"
(2) Str-B.III,p.556.
(3) Cf.Ass Mos 1,14: "Accordingly He designed and devised me and He prepared me before the foundation of the world that I should be the mediator of His covenant (εἶναί με τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ μεσίτην)" (Charles); Test Dan 6,2: "Draw near unto God and unto the angel that intercedeth for you, for he is a mediator between God and man". (Charles).
(4) Heb 6,17: ἐν ᾧ περισσότερον βουλόμενος ὁ θεὸς ἐπιδεῖξαι τοῖς κληρονόμοις τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τὸ ἀμετάθετον τῆς βουλῆς αὐτοῦ ἐμεσίτευσεν ὅρκῳ ....

"to guarantee", or "stand surety" (1). Here God stands with His oath as the one who swears and as the guarantee of His own oath at the same time. And thus He guarantees the fulfilment of His oath. However, the original Old Testament meaning of "mediator" implied in the term μεσίτης is retained throughout. μεσίτης is in fact something more than ἔγγυος . The latter emphasizes only the guarantee of salvation, while the former implies the fulfilment of the disposition for salvation as well.

From this observation we may conclude that the usage of μεσίτης in Hebrews is Hellenistic-Jewish and Gnostic. But, at the same time, the Old Testament implication of the term "mediator" is retained. Hence our interpretation of καινῆς διαθήκης μεσίτης may run as follows: Christ <u>mediated</u> the new covenant standing between God and man, and <u>guarantees</u> also what God promised in this covenant. Christ performs this soteriological function through his death and exaltation. The new covenant is, indeed, enacted on the basis of his death. This event of Christ's death, however, has occurred once (ἐφάπαξ). It is an event of the past. But it is of decisive significance for "us", as 9,26 says: "But as it is, he has appeared once for all at the end of the age to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself."

---

(1) Cf.ThWB.IV,p.624;O.Michel,op.cit.,ad loc.; C.Spicq,op.cit.,II, ad loc.: "Toutfois, ce verbe est ici intransitif, comme dans Josèphe, Antiq.VII,8,193, et avec Riggenbach, Boylan,Windisch, Bonsirven, on lui donnera le sens juridique qu'il a dans hellénistique: fournir une caution, garantier." R.S.V. reads "he interposed with an oath."

Through this event of Christ, sin is put away and the divine guarantee is given to "us" for the final salvation, when Christ comes again. "Christ, having been offered once to bear the sins of many, will appear a second time (ἐκ δευτέρου ὀφθήσεται) not to deal with sin, but to save those who are eagerly waiting him."(R.S.V.). So "we" are in the time between this decisive event of Christ and his second coming. "Our" sin is put away by this Christ-event which occurred once in the past, yet "we" are waiting him eagerly until the time when he will appear a second time to save "us". In and through Christ, sin is put away. "We" share in what thus happened in Christ through "our" faith. The full effect of this Christ-event, however, is to be realized when he comes again (1). Through faith to what happened in Christ, "we" are what "we" shall be in the future. "We" are proleptically "freed from sin" and "holy", but this will first be fully realized in the future. Christ as the heavenly high-priest guarantees this realization of salvation at the end through his ever present heavenly ministry. "We" are now under Christ's care (intercessio) and Lordship (sessio ad dexteram Dei). Thus the

---

(1) Cf.O.Cullmann,Christus und die Zeit,pp.72-73:"Das Zentrum (sc. jenes Ereignis am Kreuz) ist erreicht, aber das Ende steht noch aus. Ich illustriere diese Vorstellung an einem Beispiel: die Entscheidungsschlacht in einem Kriege kann in einer verhaeltnismaessig fruehen Phase des Krieges schon geschlagen sein, und doch geht der Krieg noch lange weiter. Obwohl die entscheidende Tragweite jener Schlacht vielleicht nicht von allen erkannt ist, bedeutet sie doch bereits den Sieg. Aber der Krieg muss noch auf unbestimmte Zeit weitergefuehrt werden bis zum "Victory Day'. Genau dies ist die Lage, in der sich das Neue Testament infolge der Erkenntnis der neuen Zeitteilung weiss: die Offenbarung besteht eben gerade darin, dass verkuendet wird, jenes Ereignis am Kreuz mit der folgenden Auferstehung war die schon geschlagene Entscheidungsschlacht."

Christ-event of the past is still working upon "us", through his eternal, ever present priestly activity in the heavenly sanctuary. The author of Hebrews expresses this soteriological significance of the Christ-event in terms of καινῆς διαθήκης μεσίτης. By his suffering and death, Christ has been appointed the high-priest, offering himself once for all on our behalf. By this a new covenant of free remission of sin is enacted, and at the same time Christ guarantees its full realization, himself acting from that time forward as the high-priest before the throne of God on high. In him as the eternal high-priest, therefore, "we" have the mediator and surety of the new covenant. He is the source of "our" eternal salvation (5,9). He is the "sure and steadfast anchor of the soul, a hope that enters into the inner shrine behind the curtain" in the heavenly Holy Place (6,19)(1).

Now 9,15 says: "This is why (2) he is the mediator of a new covenant, that those who are called may receive the promised eternal inheritance, since a death has occurred which redeemed them from the transgressions under the first covenant." With 9,15 the author

---

(1) Cf.H.Windisch,op.cit.,p.56: "Unschoen ist die Ausmahlung des Bildes: statt fast zu stecken, geht der Anker in das Allerheiligste, steigt also in den Himmel hinauf u. zieht uns von da nach sich; er ist also schliesslich Jesus." Cf. also E.Kaesemann,op.cit.,p.147; O.Michel,op.cit.,ad loc.

(2) διὰ τοῦτο may possibly be read in two ways. 1) The phrase points backward referring to 9,4 and means that the superiority of Jesus' sacrifice corresponds to the idea of covenant, or 2) it points forward to strengthen the ὅπως -sentence, saying that this is why Christ is the mediator of a new covenant, that those ... may receive the promised eternal inheritance (cf.Jn 5,16.18). Against Spicq, and with Moffatt and Michel, we shall read the phrase in the second way. Cf. J.Moffatt, O.Michel and C.Spicq ad loc.

points back to 8,6: Christ is not only the high-priest and the sacrifice, but he is also a mediator of a new covenant (cf.7,22; 12,24;1 Tim 2,5). The promise of Jer 31,31-34 is given through the prophet as the word of God. It is, however, fulfilled first in the death and exaltation of Jesus, so that he became a mediator in another way than Moses. The soteriological result of Jesus' death is presented here in two aspects: 1) negatively, the redemption (ἀπολύτρωσις) of sins under the first covenant, and 2) positively, reception of the promised eternal inheritance (τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν λάβωσιν οἱ κεκλημένοι τῆς αἰωνίου κληρονομίας). The author expresses this soteriological significance of Jesus' death in terms of "the mediator of a new covenant". This event of Christ is, indeed, the action of God in a man Jesus, in whom He reconciles the world with Himself (cf.2 Cor 5,19), both forgiving man's sins and guaranteeing the full salvation of man in the future (or, guaranteeing His promise of eternal inheritance).

In order to explain the necessity of Jesus' death, the author takes up the conception of διαθήκη in the meaning of "testament" (9,16-17). Then he says that even the first covenant was not ratified without blood, for Moses sprinkled both the book of the commandment and people with the blood of calves and goats, with water and scarlet wool and hyssop. This event of Moses' sprinkling prefigures the event of Jesus' death. His death on the cross must, therefore, have occurred according to the divine plan (9,18-22).

The following section (9,23-28) presents the unique sacrifice of Christ (v.26) and his appearance before God on our behalf (v.24).

10,1-18 develops the unique once-for-all-sacrifice of Christ in the new covenant (10,11-18) in contrast with the many and fruitless sacrifices of the old covenant (10,1-4).

To sum up, we have examined in this chapter how the author of Hebrews expounded the soteriological significance of the Christ-event. According to him the soteriological meaning of this event is his mediatorship of the new covenant (cf.9.11-15). By means of this conception of "mediator" he expounded the soteriological result of the Christ-event for mankind (including the recipients of the Epistle, of course). The background of this conception of the "mediator of a new covenant" is Old Testament, Hellenistic-Jewish and Gnostic. Or we may say that the author had received and interpreted the Old Testament idea of mediator in the Gnostic climate of religious thought, while Philo interpreted the same idea in terms of "Jewish Mystery", as Goodenough has shown (1). Thus the author of Hebrews and Philo have used the Old Testament idea of mediator interpreting it in terms of the divine mediator, who leads his people toward the goal of salvation. To Philo this mediator is Moses as Mystagogue. The author of Hebrews, on the other hand, sees in Christ, who is the leader (ἀρχηγός) and the forerunner

---

(1) E.R.Goodenough, By Light, Light, 1935.

(πρόδρομος) of his wandering people and the high-priest at the same time, the perfect mediator of the new covenant surpassing the old one mediated by Moses. We might venture to say that Philo and the author of Hebrews possibly owe the similarity between the schemes of their presentation to a common background: Gnosis (1).

---

(1) With regard to the Ἄνθρωπος -myth, C.H.Dodd points out "a fairly uniform common scheme" lying behind the Philonic, Hermetic and Gnostic systems. The same scheme is also found in the idea of Man in the Fourth Gospel. Dodd sketches the Johannine idea of Man as follows: "For him (sc.John) the Man is identical with the Logos.., is the offspring of the supreme God, the Father, descends into the world to reveal knowledge of the Father, and, ascending again, draws after Him those who are born again and in whom He Himself abides." (The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel,1953,p.112). He thinks that Jewish speculation on Adam would have been as influential on this Ἄνθρωπος-myth as ideas borrowed from Iranian sources. Cf. Ibid.,pp.101,111, note 1,112; W.D.Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, 1948,ch. 3.

Kaesemann sees in the center of speculations of Philo and Hebrews the motive of "a way", which runs through this world toward heaven and also the motive of "the people wandering on this way". Hence he concludes that a tradition of "Erloesungslehre" may lie behind both Philo and Hebrews. Cf.E.Kaesemann,op.cit.,pp.40,51ff.,58,125. Cf. also F.C.Grant,An Introduction to New Testament Thought,1950, p.266; R.Bultmann, Theologie des Neuen Testaments, pp.166f.

Conclusion

I

The Summary

In this study we have examined the presentation of Christology and its soteriological significance in the Epistle to the Hebrews. We may here summarize our study.

The pre-existent Son of God, who is the effulgence of the glory of God and the exact impression of his essence (1,3), humiliated himself to become a man (2,9). This Son, Jesus, suffered and died, and, being exalted above the angels, sat down at the right hand of God. Through this act of humiliation and exaltation Christ opened the way for his people to the eternal rest in heaven, being himself "perfected" (τελειωθείς ,5,9;2,10). In this way he leads his people toward the heavenly goal. Thus at once he is himself "perfected" and the "perfecter"(τελειωτής ,12,2) of his people.

In this presentation of the "way" of Christ, the author of Hebrews follows the Gnostic myth of the saved saviour. Differing from Gnosis, however, the author uses the Gnostic pattern in order to expound the implied significance of the historical event of Christ. In fact, what the author aims at here is to present the soteriological significance implied in the death of Jesus of Nazareth, whom "we" confess to be the Son of God (4,14). With Bultmann we may call this method of presentation as "Vergeschichtlichung" of myth or "Entmythologisierung"(1). The cosmic-metaphysical pattern of

---

(1) Cf.e.g. R.Bultmann,Theologie des Neuen Testaments, pp.165ff.; 359f.;383ff.;note 1 to p.386,etc.

Gnostic myth is employed in order to expound the soteriological significance of the historical event of Christ, which occurred once for all. This method is also observed when the author re-interprets the Gnostic idea of "ascent" to the heavenly rest into the idea of the travel of the people of God on earth toward the heavenly homeland (3,7-4,13). Here the Old Testament idea of "wandering people of God" toward the promised land is expounded by means of the Gnostic idea of "ascent", and presented as a type of the contemporary situation of Christian community. By this, the existential situation of Christians is fully expounded. The myth of ascent is thus "vergeschichtlicht" or demythologized.

Further, in order to develop the soteriological significance of the Christ-event the author uses the conceptions of the high-priest and the mediator of a new covenant (7,1-10,18). Through his suffering and death Christ proved his absolute obedience to his Father (2,9f.). Because of this obedience, he was appointed at the same time the Son of God and high-priest after the order of Melchizedek, when he died on the cross (5,1-10). This death is his self-sacrifice for purification of "our" sins. Through this offering, Christ mediated a new covenant for the free remission of sins (8,8-12;10, 16-18), and at the same time he became the guarantee of the full realization of this covenant, acting himself as the high-priest before the throne of God on high.

Jesus' death on the cross is an event of past. There is no doubt about this. As the author of Hebrews understands, however,

this past event of "ἐφάπαξ"(7,27;9,12;10,12) is still determining the present. This fact is expressed by the conception of the eternal-ever -present activity of the exalted Christ. He is the leader, forerunner and the perfecter of his people. He is the king-priest before and at the right hand of God, both interceding for us and guaranteeing the full realization of the promise. Thus he is "the source of eternal salvation to all who obey him"(5,9). We, his people are, therefore, under his leadership, intercession, guarantee and Lordship.

II

The Characteristics of the Christology and Soteriology of Hebrews

In order to characterize the Christology and Soteriology of the Epistle to the Hebrews, we may compare them with those of Pauline writings and the Fourth Gospel from the points of view we set up in the following.

1. The author of Hebrews presents his Christology and Soteriology in a "heilsgeschichtliche" perspective. This is most vividly seen in the opening verses of the Epistle: "In many and various ways God spoke of old to our fathers by the prophets; but in these last days he has spoken to us by a Son ..." (1,1.2). The final revelation in and through Christ had long been prepared by the revelations through the prophets. The revelation or the word of God in Christ is, therefore, the consummation of all the preceding revelations.

Christ's leadership of his "wandering people" is typified in Moses as the leader of the wandering people of God in the desert toward the promised land of Canaan. The Christ's mediatorship of a new covenant is also typified in Moses' mediatorship of the old covenant. Christ is appointed high-priest after the order of Melchizedek. That is, Christ's high-priesthood is foreshadowed by and typified in the priest-king Melchizedek of the Old Testament. As we have seen above, these motives are enriched and expounded by means of Hellenistic-Jewish and Gnostic patterns of religious thought, which are the background of the Epistle. They indicate, however, that the author of Hebrews presents Christology and Soteriology in "heilsgeschichtliche" perspective. In this respect the author is on the same line as Paul, differing from the author of the Fourth Gospel, where a "heilsgeschichtliche" perspective cannot be seen. As Bultmann has shown, the conception of God's covenant with Israel, viz. of the new covenant, the election of Israel and the guidance of His people do not have any rôle in the Fourth Gospel. Hence the proof method by prophecy does not play any part. The "heilsgeschichtliche" naming of the community, i.e. ἐκκλησία is also lacking, etc.(1).

2. Christ's work of salvation as a whole consists in the incarnation of Christ, his passion and death, his resurrection and exaltation. Of these moments, now this moment, now that is named and emphasized. Paul proclaims the gospel of "the word of the cross"

---

(1) Cf.R.Bultmann,op.cit.,p.355. The word ἐκκλησία occurs only in 3 Jn 6.9f.

(λόγος τοῦ σταυροῦ , 1 Cor 1,18), which "is folly to those who are perishing, but to us who are being saved it is the power of God."(1 Cor 1,18). For him the event of salvation consists in Christ's death and resurrection. He has received this as παράδοσις, which he further delivers to others: "Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures, that he was buried, that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures."(1 Cor 15,3-4). Since the pre-existent Son of God, Christ, has given himself to death and resurrected (Phil 2,6-11), the moment of incarnation belongs to the event of salvation. However, the incarnation does not have an independent significance beside the death of Christ. It belongs rather to the whole of Christ's action, in which he showed his obedience (Phil 2,8). The kerygma itself is Christ's death and resurrection (1 Cor 1,23f.). For Paul these two moments of Christ's "way" are decisive. They are, in fact, the only things with which Paul concerns himself in Christ's person and work (1 Cor 2,2). This event of salvation, the cross, is the action of prevenient grace of God.

In contrast with Paul (1 Cor 15), the author of Hebrews does not mention the resurrection throughout his Epistle(1). What he puts down as the fundamental fact of Christ's salvation-work is his death, which occurred once for all. The author of Hebrews, however, does not, as Paul, present this historical event of Christ's death directly as kerygma. What he tries to present before his

---

(1) Cf.Heb 13,20.

readers is rather the soteriological significance of this event itself. Presupposing "the Elementary doctrine of Christ"(ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγος ,6,1; τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς ,5,12), the author presents the γνῶσις for the "perfected ones"(τέλειοι): the high-priest Christ. Now, for the author of Hebrews the death of Christ is identical with his exaltation and glorification (1,3.4; 2,9)(1). Hereby the explicit emphasis is put on the exaltation of Christ to the right hand of God (2). Without sojourning for a while before his exaltation (Acts 1,3), Christ in Hebrews is exalted at the same time with his death (3). That is, through his death on the cross Christ offered himself for "us" once for all and entered "into the inner shrine behind the curtain."(6,19). Hence we may say with J.Jeremias that "Der Karfreitag ist der Eine Versoehnungstag der Welt."(4). In order to describe the eternal validity of atonement in cultic picture, the author uses the idea of exaltation (5).

---

(1) Cf.J.Jeremias,Zwischen Karfreitag und Ostern, ZNW,42(1949),pp. 197ff.
(2) F.C.Grant, An Introduction to New Testament Thought, 1950,p.229: "It is more probable, however, that in the view of the author of Hebrews the resurrection and ascension were identical, one and the same act, and that this act took place in the transcendental realm, unseen by mortal eyes; it was by his death that Jesus entered into the holy of holies of the temple not made with hands(9,11)."
(3) Cf.G.Bertram, Die Himmelfahrt Jesus vom Kreuz aus und der Glaube an seine Auferstehung, in Festgabe fuer A.Deissmann,1927,p.215: "Die Terminologie des Hebr-Briefes setzt weder die Geschichte von der Grablegung noch die Visions- und Auferstehungslegenden voraus. Die ihr zugrundeliegende Vorstellung von dem Ausgang Jesus ist die [* von seiner Erhoehung vom Kreuz in den Himmel."
(4) Cf.J.Jeremias,op.cit.,p.199.
(5) Cf.Ibid.,p.201.

The proclamation of John consists in the message that "God so loved the world that he sent his only Son into the world, not to condemn the world, but that the world might be saved through him." (Jn 3,16.17; 1 Jn 4,9.11). Thus the theme of the Fourth Gospel is the coming of the Son of God into this world: ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο (1,14). The Son of God as the revealer, however, does not come into this world as man in general (Mensch ueberhaupt), but as a certain historical man, as Jesus of Nazareth. In the person of this man Jesus and only in him God encounters us. The incarnate Logos reveals his δόξα through his work on earth, while according to Paul, Jesus as the pre-existent Son appearing in the form of a servant is destitute of his glory (Phil 2,6). Further, in Paul the incarnation belongs to the event of salvation as a whole and is subordinated to the event of Jesus' death. In John, on the contrary, the incarnation is decisive and it is the death of Jesus that is subordinated to the incarnation. However, with the death of Jesus as the going-away of the Son of God, the incarnation as his coming forms a unity (1). For John, as for the author of Hebrews, Jesus' cross is his glorification (δοξασθῆναι , 7,39; 12,16.23;13,31f.;17,1.5) and exaltation (ὑψωθῆναι ,3,14; 8,28; 12,32.34). His death is indeed the crowning of his work. Hence the resurrection is not an event of decisive significance. His death is already the victory over the world, and not the resurrection. The hour of his passion is the judgement of the world(κρίσις τοῦ κόσμου τούτου), which means the casting out of the ruler

(1) Cf.R.Bultmann, Theologie des Neuen Testaments,p.399.

of this world (ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἐκβληθήσεται, 12,31; 16,11). Thus in the Fourth Gospel the whole salvation-event: the incarnation of Christ, his passion and death, his resurrection and exaltation, is, so to speak, focused on the one event: the revelation of the truth (ἀλήθεια) of God in the earthly work of a man Jesus, the incarnate Son of God.

3. In order to describe the soteriological significance of the salvation-event Paul makes use of a series of conceptions, which are derived from various circles of thought. Firstly, Jesus' death is represented as "expiatory sacrifice" (ἱλαστήριον), through which the remission of sins is effected. Rom 3,25: "Jesus Christ, whom God put forward as an expiation by his blood, to be received by faith"(R.S.V.). This conception of expiatory sacrifice belongs to the circle of Jewish-cultic thought. With this conception is closely related the idea of "vicarious sacrifice", which is derived also from the circle of cultic-juridical thinking. This idea can be expressed by the formula of " ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ". Gal 3, 13: "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us (γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα)" (cf. 2 Cor 5,21). According to this passage of Gal 3,13 the vicarious death of Christ is the means, through which men are "redeemed", sc. from the curse of the law. Gal 1,4 says, "Christ Jesus, who gave himself for our sins to deliver us from the present evil age (ὅπως ἐξέληται

---

(1) The same idea is expressed concisely in Rom 5,9: δικαιωθέντες νῦν ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ. Cf.also 1 Cor 15,3;2 Cor 5,14.

ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πονηροῦ)". In this way, Paul presents the death of Christ not only as a sacrifice, which expiates sin, and so the punishment of sin, but also as the means of deliverance from the power of the present age, the law, sin and death. All these conceptions are cultic-juridical terminology (1).

As we have seen above, in the Fourth Gospel the death of Jesus is subordinated to the idea of revelation. In his death Jesus acts as the revealer and not as the suffering object of the divine economy of salvation. The passion-story presents Jesus not as the suffering but as the victor. Hence, in contrast with Paul, the idea of Jesus' death as "expiatory sacrifice" does not play any role in John. Jn 17,19: "For their sake I consecrate myself (ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν [ἐγὼ] ἁγιάζω ἐμαυτόν)", suggests that Jesus' death is understood as an offering. Since, however, Jesus' death in John is to be understood as the consummation of his work, it is rather his work as a whole that is an offering.

In the Epistle to the Hebrews the death of Jesus is presented in two soteriological aspects (2). On the one hand, the author of Hebrews presents the significance of Jesus' death in the context of breaking the power of death (2,14-15). Then in 2,17 he suddenly changes the perspective of the same event and sees it in the context of remission of sins by means of the institution of the high-priesthood. In the former aspect, Jesus' death is understood as the victory over the prince of death. According to it, by death the

---

(1) R.Bultmann, Theologie des Neuen Testaments, pp.290ff.
(2) Vide supra chap.4.

saviour casts off his material flesh. By this he breaks a hole through the matter and goes through this hole back to heaven. His brothers when they die, follow the pioneer-saviour on this way to heaven. The author of Hebrews may have taken up the Gnostic tradition in describing Jesus' death and its significance. In this way, however, the soteriological significance of Jesus' death is not fully expounded. Though the prince of death is overcome by Christ, yet his brothers are still under the burden of sins. The remission of sins is what remains to be effected by his death. This the author develops by the institution of the high-priesthood of Christ(7,1-10, 18). According to this view, the death of Jesus is the once-for-all sacrifice for sins (θυσία : 7,27;9,26;10,12; προσφορά: 9,28;10, 10; αἷμα : 9,11ff.; 10,19ff.29;13,12.20), through which a new covenant for free remission of sins is mediated (8,6.7-13;9,15). Thus the soteriological significance of Jesus' death is expounded by means of a cultic picture of the Old Testament tradition, enriched by the Hellenistic Jewish and Gnostic background of the author.

III

Eschatological Background of the Soteriology of Hebrews

In the New Testament the Christ-event is observed always under the eschatological aspect. It is also characteristic of the New Testament proclamation that the data of eschatology are presented

in two stages: what began in Jesus' incarnation, death and exaltation, shall fully realize itself at the end of time. The eschatological perspective changes, however, according to the emphasis put on either one of these two stages.

The author of Hebrews knows that the eschatological event occurred already when God has spoken to us by a Son "in these last days" (1,1), or "at the end of the age" (9,26). Christians, therefore, "have tasted the heavenly gift... and the goodness of the word of God and powers of the age to come."(6,4.5). Yet, in Hebrews the eyes are directed toward the future. This tension between present and future is indicated clearly by the use of ἐπαγγελία (1). Thus the eschatological event of Christ, the revelation of God in a man, Jesus, or the revelation of eternity in time, which still flows on, though its end is come in Jesus, effects an eschatological tension in the existential situation of Christians. The author of Hebrews presents this eschatological aspect of Soteriology in cultic pictures by the idea of "the wandering people of God"(3,7-4,13) and "the heavenly Jerusalem"(12,18-29), etc.

With the word of God in Christ the final judgement of the world is declared and the age to come is announced. The Christ-event is both the realization and revelation of this divine economy, and also the offering to men of a last chance to make a decision for or against God. As W.Manson puts it, "God has declared again an

---

(1) Cf. ThWB.II,pp.580-81 and note 67 to p.581; E.Kaesemann, Das wandernde Gottesvolk,pp.11-19.

ultimate chance, a final Now, a critical last To-day of salvation" (1). "To-day, when you hear his voice, do not harden your hearts" (Ps 95,7-8 quoted in 4,7). Any one who hears and obeys this word of God spoken in and by Christ, is put in the eschatological situation. Being in this world, he runs to its end and experiences in himself the end of it. Since, however, this world still continues to exist, he waits for the full realization of what he experiences by faith in Christ. He is thus in eschatological tension, existing between the "already" of the present and the "not yet" of the future. By the word of God he is called forth into this situation.

Taking as a type the Old Testament record of the wandering of the people of God through the desert toward the promised land of Canaan, the author of Hebrews presents the situation of Christians as an anti-type. Members of Christian community as the people of God are called forth to "a new Exodus"(2), not toward an earthly place of rest, but to a heavenly rest, the heavenly homeland (πατρίς, 11,14; πόλις ,11,16), the heavenly Jerusalem (12,22)(3,7-4,13).

In 10,19-24 the situation of Christians is described as a worshipful approach through Christ to God. The life of Christians is a continuous approach to the throne of God through the blood of Jesus (ἐν τῷ αἵματι Ἰησοῦ ,10,19). They go by "the new and living

---

(1) W.Manson, The Epistle to the Hebrews, 1951,p.55.
(2) Ibid.

way" (ὁδὸς πρόσφατος καὶ ζῶσα ,10,20) which Christ opened for them, as those who have their "hearts sprinkled clean from an evil conscience", and their "bodies washed with pure water"(10,20). With these expressions the reference is made to the act of baptism (1), which signifies "the proleptic entrance into the eternal Kingdom of God"(2). In the Old Testament sprinkling and washing were necessary in order that the priest could perform the service before God. In the new covenant, on the other hand, the whole community is purified and washed both in terms of their bodies and hearts, not with the blood of animals, but with the blood of Christ. Through the rite of baptism, men become members of the community set up by the new covenant, to share in the proleptic entrance into the world to come. Living still in this world, they "have tasted... the powers of the age to come"(6,5).

Through baptism (sc.by the sprinkling of the blood of Christ) "to be a member of the people of God under Christ's leadership, mediatorship, guarantee and Lordship" is the indicative of faith conceived in Hebrews. But in this indicative, Christians also stand under an imperative. Having foretasted the world to come, they are called forth on journey to "draw near"(10,22) continually to the throne of God in this new world, the heavenly Jerusalem (12,22). Encountering "a great priest"(10,21) in Christ in the rite of baptism through faith, Christians are thrust into an

---

(1) Cf. φωτισθέντες ,6,4;10,32.
(2) W.Manson,op.cit.,p.67. Cf.6,4.5.

eschatological tension of their existence. Clearly, the life of Christians as members of the people of God is represented in a symbolic picture, the people of God being a cultic community set up by the new covenant mediated through Christ.

This is most vividly presented in 12,18ff. As Kaesemann says (1), both the revelation on Mount Sinai and that on Mount Zion are pictured in the colour of Epiphany. In the terrifying natural phenomena of the revelation on Mount Sinai, angels manifest themselves; while in the revelation on Mount Zion the heavenly gathering (πανήγυρις ,12,22) appears. The point of the passage is, however, the surety of the new covenant, Jesus and his sprinkled blood. This blood of Jesus as the messianic blood is better than the martyr-blood of Abel. Hence it enacts the new covenant. Angels and "the assembly of the first-born"(12,23) may praise God in their gathering. The unique rôle in this heavenly cult, however, belongs alone to the surety Jesus and his blood. What to be noticed here is this that God speaks in this blood (αἵματι ῥαντισμοῦ κρεῖττων λαλοῦντι παρα τον Ἄβελ ,12,24)(2). This interpretation of verse 24b is supported by the use of χρηματίζειν in the following verse, which term means a solemn announcement and proclamation (3). As on Mount Sinai, so the divine proclamation was made on Mount Zion, but the latter surpassed the former one. Of the proclamation on Mount Sinai the announcers were angels, while on Mount

---

(1) E.Kaesemann,op.cit.,p.27.
(2) With Kaesemann,op.cit.,p.29 against O.Michel,op.cit.,p.230.
(3) Cf.Walter Bauer, P.1607; E.Kaesemann,op.cit.,p.13.

Zion it is the blood of Christ through which God speaks. In both cases God Himself stands behind the announcers as the authority of proclamation. Hence the enactment of the new covenant belongs only to God, whose covenant is what makes the content of proclamation on Mount Zion, with its guarantee only through the blood of Christ.

In the Epiphany on Mount Sinai as well as on Mount Zion, God appears as a "consuming fire"(πυρ καταναλίσκον ,12,29). The contrast of the two cases (12,18ff.;12,22ff.) becomes evident, however, from this, that earth and heaven are shaken by the divine voice on Mount Zion in order that "what cannot be shaken may remain" (12,27). "What has been made"(12,27) must be removed so that what is eternal may appear before all eyes. What is eternal here is "the kingdom that cannot be shaken)(βασιλεία ἀσάλευτος ,12,28). This unshakable kingdom is already shown to the people of God on Mount Zion. What is promised to them (cf. ἐπήγγελται,12,26) is this "kingdom that cannot be shaken", the heavenly Jerusalem. The new Jerusalem thus promised as the place of proclamation and of the new covenant is what calls forth the people of God on journey and, at the same time, is the "inheritance" which is to be inherited through endurance. It is the beginning and end of the journey of the wandering people of God, just like Jesus as "the pioneer and perfecter of our faith"(12,2). Participating in the awe inspiring Epiphany on Mount Zion through faith in Christ, Christians experience already the end of this world and view the new, heavenly Jerusalem appearing before their eyes through the shaking of heaven and earth. Toward

this heavenly Jerusalem Christians as the people of God continue their journey, offering "to God acceptable worship, with reverence and awe"(12,28).

Against this eschatological background the Soteriology of Hebrews becomes clear. Presenting the Ephiphany on Mount Zion as the anti-type of that on Mount Sinai, the author of Hebrews describes in cultic picture the enactment of the new covenant mediated by Christ with his won blood. Thus "the new and living way"(10,20) to the heavenly Jerusalem is opened for us through Christ. Now, by the enactment of the new covenant the new people of God are set up. Men become members of this community by the rite of baptism through faith in Christ. At the same time, they are called forth to a new Exodus (cf.13,13) toward the heavenly Jerusalem. They go on the new and living way opened by Christ, himself being the leader of their journey and guarantee of their sure attainment of the destiny, if they "hold fast the confession of our (sc.their) hope without wavering"(10,28).

IV

The Ethical Implications drawn by the Author Himself

By baptism Christians as members of the people of God "have tasted the heavenly gift, ... the goodness of the word of God and the powers of the age to come"(6,4.5). They are already "the people of God", "who share in a heavenly call"(3,1). At the same time, they are called forth on journey toward that which they have tasted and are sharing in: the eternal rest in the heavenly Jerusalem. Although they are already enrolled in this city of God (cf. 12,23), they must travel toward it, under the Christ's leadership and his guarantee of safe arrival there. This is the eschatological tension between the "already" of the present and the "not yet" of the past.

The situation may be expressed with the formula like the following: "We have tasted the powers of the age to come, therefore we must continue our travel toward it with endurance that we may fully taste the powers of the coming age"; "We are enrolled in the heavenly Jerusalem, therefore we must behave accordingly that we may arrive at this eternal city of God"; or, "We are already delivered from the powers of sin, therefore we must fight against sin", etc. Thus the imperative is firmly rooted in the indicative.

In the hortatory passages of the Epistle the author draws the ethical implications of the indicative of faith. Since the setting of the whole presentation is that of "travel"(or, "way") toward the world to come in cultic picture, the exhortations and

admonitions are also those for the travelling people: Fix your eyes toward the goal, looking to Jesus the pioneer and perfecter of your fiath; Do not look away from him, nor apostatize from the living God; Continue your journey with faith and patience until the end, when you shall inherit the promise, etc.

2,1-5: "Therefore we must pay the closer attention to what we have heard, last we drift away from it....."
3,1-3: "Therefore, holy brethren, who share in a heavenly call, consider Jesus, the apostle and high-priest of our confession..."
3,6-8: "And we are his house if we hold fast our confidence and pride in our hope. Therefore, as the Holy Spirit says,

'Today, when you hear his voice,
do not harden your hearts as in the rebellion...'"

3,12.13: "Take care, brethren, lest there be in any of you an evil, unbelieving heart leading you to fall away from the living God. But exhort one another every day, as long as it is called 'today', that none of you may be hardened by the deceitfulness of sin."
3,19-4,1: "So we see that they were unable to enter because of unbelief. Therefore, while the promise of entering his rest remains, let us fear lest any of you be judged to have failed to reach it."
4,11: "Let us therefore strive to enter that rest, that no one fall by the same sort of disobedience."
6,4-6: "For it is impossible to restore again to repentance those who have once been enlightened, who have tasted the heavenly gift, and have become partakers of the Holy Spirit, and have tasted the goodness of the word of God and the powers of the age to come, if they then commit apostasy, since they crucify the Son of God on their own account and hold him up to contempt."
6,9-12: "... And we desire each one of you to show the same earnestness in realizing the full assurance of hope until the end, so that you may not be sluggish, but imitators of those who through faith and patience inherit the promises."
10,19-25: "Therefore, brethren, since we have confidence to enter the sanctuary by the blood of Jesus.... and since we have a great priest over the house of God, let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith.... Let us hold fast the confession of our hope without wavering, for he who promised is faithful; and let us consider how to stir up one another to love and good works..."
12,1-3: "Therefore, since we are surrounded by so great a cloud of witnesses,let us also lay aside every weight, and sin which clings so closely, and let us run with perseverance the race that is set before us, looking to Jesus the pioneer and perfecter of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising the shame and is seated at the right hand of the throne of

God."

12,12ff. "Therefore lift your drooping hands and strengthen your weak knees, and make straight paths for your feet, so that what is lame may not be put out of joint but rather be healed...."

.....

.....

Through these exhortations the danger of the situation in the community appears as that of falling away from the living God through unbelief and disobedience. "The community addressed in Hebrews was drifting away from the truth of Christianity and in danger of apostatizing from the living God"(1). The author exhorts this community to hold fast their confession, presenting before their eyes the high-priest Christ as the leader, perfecter, mediator and guarantee of the new covenant, the Lord sitting at the right hand of God, higher than angels and Moses, the great leader of Israel. The Epistle to the Hebrews is indeed "the word of exhortation"(ὁ λόγος τῆς παρακλήσεως,13,22).

---

(1) W.Manson, op.cit.,p.59.

Bibliography

E.Auerbach, Typological Symbolism in Medieval Literature, Yale French Studies.
W.Bauer, Triechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen Christlichen Literatur, 1952.
J.A.Bengel, Gnomon of The New Testament, transl. by J.Bryce, 2 ed. 1859.
A.Bentzen, Messias-Moses redivivus-Menschensohn, 1948.
G.Bertram, Die Himmelfahrt Jesu vom Kreuz aus und der Glaube an seine Auferstehung, in Festgabe fuer A.Deissmann, 1927, pp.187-217.
F.Blass-A.Debrunner, Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch, 6 ed., 1931.
Fr.Bleek, Der Brief an die Hebraeer, I-III,1828,1836,1840.
K.Bornhaeuser, Empfaenger und Verfasser des Hebraeerbriefes, 1932.
G.Bornkamm, Ὁμολογία, in Hermes LXXI, 1938.
Idem., Das Bekenntnis im Hebraeerbrief, in Theologische Blaetter, 1942.
W.Bousset, Hauptproblem der Gnosis, 1906.
C.A.Briggs, Psalm, ICC, I-II,5 impr., 1952.
C.Buechel, Der Hebraeerbrief und das Alte Testament, in Theologische Studien und Kritiken, 1906.
R.Bultmann, Die Bedeutung der neuerschlossenen mandaeischen und manichaeischen Quellen fuer das Verstaendnis des Johannesevangelium, in ZNW XXIV(1925),pp.100-146.
Idem., Das Urchristentum im Rahmen der antiken Religionen, 1949.
Idem., Das Evangelium des Johannes, Meyer's Commentary, 11 ed., 1950.
Idem., Weissagung und Erfuellung, in Glauben und Verstehen, II,1952.
Idem., Theologie des Neuen Testaments, 1953.
E.D.W.Burton, Galatians, ICC, repr.,1952.
J.Calvin, Commentarius in Epistolam ad Hebraeos.
P.Carrington, The Primitive Christian Catechism,1940.
R.P.Casey, The Study of Gnosticism, in Journal of Theological Studies, XXXVI(1935), pp.45-60.
O.Culmann, Christus und die Zeit, 2 ed., 1948.
Idem., The Earliest Christian Confessions, transl. by J.K.S.Reid, 1949.
Idem., Early Christian Worship, transl. by A.S.Todd and J.B.Torrance, 1953.
W.D.Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, 1948.
F.Delitzsch, The Epistle to the Hebrews, 1857,transl. by T.L.Kingsbury.
M.Dibelius, Der himmlische Kultus nach dem Hebraeerbrief, in Theologische Blaetter, 1942.
Idem., An Die Kolosser, Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, 3 ed.,1953.
Idem., An die Epheser, Handbuch zum Neuen Testament,3 ed.,1953.
E.Dinkler, Rechtsnahme und Rechtsverzicht bei Paulus, Zur Exegese von 1 Kor 6,1-11, in Festschrift fuer Prof.Ken Ishiwara zu seinem 70.Geburtstag, Tokyo,1952.
Ev.Dobschutz, Das Apostolicum in bibl.-theol.Beleuchtung,1903.
C.H.Dobb, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel,1953.

P.Drews, Untersuchungen ueber die sogen.Klementische Liturgie,1906.
R.S.Eccles, Hellenistic Mysticism in the Epistle to the Hebrews, Yale Diss.,1952.
W.Eichrodt, Theologie des Alten Testaments, 3 ed., 1950.
P.Feine, Die Gestalt des apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnisses in der Zeit des NTs,1925.
M.Goguel, Le Nouveau Testament, 1929.
E.R.Goodenough, By Light, Light,1935.
Fr.C.Grant, An Introduction to New Testament Thought,1950.
R.Gyllenberg, Die Christologie des Hebraeerbriefes, in Zeitschrift fuer systematische Theologie, XI(1934).
A.von Harnack, Probabilia ueber die Adresse und den Verfasser des Hebraeerbriefes, ZNW,1900.
Idem., Zwei alte dogmatische Korrekturen im Hebrews, in Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften,1929.
J.Héring, La première Epître de St.Paul aux Corinthiens,1949.
J.T.Hudson, The Epistle to the Hebrews, 1937.
J.S.Javet, Dieu nous parla, 1945.
J.Jeremias, Zwischen Karfreitag und Ostern, in ZNW XLII(1949),pp. 197ff.
H.Jonas, Gnosis und die spaetantiker Geist, I,1934.
A.Juelicher, Einleitung in das Neuen Testament, 7 ed., 1931.
E.Kaesemann, Das wandernde Gottesvolk, 1939.
R.Knopf, Der erste Clemensbrief, Ergaenzungsband zum Handbuch zum N.T., 1920.
W.L.Knox, The "Divine Hero" Christology in the New Testament, in Harvard Theological Review, 1948.
J.Koegel, Der Sohn und die Soehne, in Beitraege zur Foerderung christlicher Theologie, 1904.
Idem., Der Begriff τελειοῦν im Hebraeerbrief, in Theologische Studien, M.Kaeler dargebracht,1905.
C.H.Kraeling, Anthropos and Son of Man,1927.
H.Leisegang, Indices ad Philonis Alex.opera.
W.Leonard, The Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews,1939.
H.G.Liddell-R.Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon,9 ed.repr.,I-II,1951.
M.Lidzbarski, Mandaeische Fragen, in ZNW XXVI(1927),pp.70-75.
H.Lietzmann, An die Korinther, I-II,Handbuch zum N.T., 4 ed.,1949.
E.Lohmeyer, Der Brief an die Kolosser, Meyer's Commentary, 9 ed.,1953.
A.Loisy, Les Livres du Nouveau Testament, 1922.
Idem., Le Mandéism et les Origines Chrétiennes, 1934.
A.C.McGiffert, A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age,1897.
Mandaean Literature:
Das Johannesbuch der Mandaeer, transl. by M.Lidzbarski,1915.
Mandaeische Liturgien, transl. by M.Lidzbarski,1920.
Ginza, der Schatz, od.das grosse Buch der Mandaeer,transl. by M.Lidzbarski, 1925.
W.Manson, Jesus the Messiah, 1946.
Idem., The Epistle to the Hebrews,1951.
O.Michel, Die Lehre von der christlichen Vollkommenheit nach der Anschauung des Hebraeerbriefes, in Theologische Studien und Kritiken, 1934-35.

Idem., Der Brief an die Hebraeer, Meyer's Commentary,8ed.,1949.
J.Moffatt, The Epistle to the Hebrews,ICC,1924,repr.1948.
J.A.Mongomery, The Books of Kings,ICC,1951.
G.F.Moore, Intermediaries in Jewish Theology, in Harvard Theological Review,1922.
J.H.Moulton-G.Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament,repr. 1949.
A.Nairne, The Epistle of Priesthood,1 ed.,1913.
S.A.Palis, Mandaean Studies, Engl.transl.1919.
R.H.Pfeiffer, Introduction to the Old Testament, repr.,1948.
Philo, Works, I-IX(Loeb Classical Library).
J.van der Ploeg, L'exégèse de l'Ancien Testament dans l'Épître aux Hébreux, in Revue Biblique, 1947,pp.187-228.
A.Plummer, The Second Epistle of St.Paul to the Corinthians,ICC, repr.,1948.
R.Reitzenstein, Der mandaeische Buch des Herrn des Grossen, in Sitzungsbericht der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1919.
Idem., Das iranische Erloesungsmysterium, 1921.
Idem., Zur Mandaeerfrage, ZNW XXVI(1927),pp.39-70.
A.Riehm, Der Lehrbegriff des Hebraeerbriefes, 1867.
E.Riggenbach, Hebraeerbrief, 1922.
T.H.Robinson, The Epistle to the Hebrews,Moffatt Commentary,1933.
W.Sanday-A.C.Headlam, The Epistle to the Romans,ICC,5 ed.repr., 1952.
H.Schlier, Christus und die Kirche im Epheserbrief, 1930.
Idem., Der Brief an die Galater, Meyer's Commentary,10 ed.,1949.
H.Schmidt, Die Psalmen, Handbuch zum A.T.,1934.
D.Schultz, Der Brief an die Hebraeer, 1818.
E.F.Scott, The Epistle to the Hebrews,1922.
A.Seeberg, Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit,1903.
Idem., Der Brief an die Hebraeer, 1912.
E.K.Simpson, Words Worth Weighing in the Greek N.T.,1946.
C.Spicq, Le philonisme de l'Épître aux Hébreux, in Revue Biblique, 1949,pp.542-572; 1950,pp.212-242.
Idem., L'Origine johannique de la conception du Christ-prêtre dans l'Épître aux Hébreux, in Aux source de la tradition chrêtienne, 1950,pp.258-269.
Idem., Alexandrinismes dans l'Épître aux Hébreux, in Revue Biblique, 1951,pp.481-502.
Idem., L'Épître aux Hébreux,I-II,1952-53.
H.L.Strack-P.Billerbeck, Kommentar zum N.T.aus Talmud und Midrasch, I-IV,1922ff.
H.Strathmann, Der Brief an die Hebraeer, Das Neue Testament Deutsch, 6 ed., 1953.
H.Von Soden, Der Brief an die Hebraeer, 1 ed., 1880.
A.Weiser, Die Psalmen, Das Alte Testament Deutsch, 1950.
C.Weizsaecker, Das apostolische Zeitalter, 1 ed., 1886.
B.F.Westcott-F.J.A.Hort, The New Testament,I-II,1896.
B.F.Westcott, The Epistle to the Hebrews,1 ed.,1889,repr.,1952.
H.Windisch, Der Hebraeerbrief,Handbuch zum N.T.,1 ed.,1913,2 ed.,1931.
H.A.Wolfson, Philo,I-II,1948f.
G.E.Wright, God Who Acts, 1952.

Abbreviations

Aesch	Aeschylus
Ag	Agamemnon
Prom	Prometheus Vinctus
Aristoph	Aristophanes
Ach	Acharnenses
Av	Aves
Aristot	Aristoteles
Cael	De Caelo
Eth Nic	Ethica Nichomachea
Hist An	Historia Animalium
Metaph	Metaphysica
Meteor	Meteorologicum
Mundo	De Mundo
Phys	Physica
Pol	Politica
Artem	Artemidorus
Aug	Augustinus
Civ D	De Civitate Dei
Bacchyl	Bacchylides
BFTh	Beitraege zur Foerderung christlicher Theologie, 1895ff.
Bl-Debr	F.Blass, Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch, bearb. von A.Debrunner, 6 ed., 1931.
Callim	Callimachus
Del	Hymnus in Delum
Charles	The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament,I-II,1913,ed.by R.H.Charles
Cl Al	Clemens Alexandrinus
Paeda	Paedagogus
Strom	Stromata
Cleanth	Cleanthes Stoicus
Demosth	Demosthenes
Diod S	Diodorus Siculus
Diog L	Diogenes Laertius
Ditt Syll	W.Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum, 3 ed., 1915ff.
Epict	Epictetus
Diss	Dissertationes
Eur	Euripides
Bac	Bacchae
El	Electra
Hec	Hecuba
Eus	Eusebius
Hist Eccl	Historia Ecclesiastica
Gal	Claudius Galenus
Heliodor	Heliodorus
Hdt	Herodotus
Hennecke	H.Hennecke, Neutestamentliche Apokryphen, 3 ed., 1923f.

Heracl ..... Heraclitus
Hermog ..... Hermogenes
  Id ..... περὶ ἰδέων
Hes ..... Hesiodus
  Op ..... Opera et Dies
  Theog ..... Theogonia
Hippocr ..... Hippocrates
  Art ..... περὶ ἄρθρων ἐμβολῆς
  Coac ..... κωακαὶ προγνώσιες
  Steril ..... περὶ ἀφόρων
HThR ..... Harvard Theological Review
Hom ..... Homerus
  Il ..... Illias
  Od ..... Odyssea
Jos ..... Flavius Josephus
  Ant ..... Antiquitates
  Bell ..... Bellum Judaicum
JThSt ..... Journal of Theological Studies
Lact ..... Lactantius
  Inst ..... Divinae Institutiones
Liddell-Scott .... H.Liddell and R.Scott,Greek-English Lexicon, I-II,9 ed., repr.1951.
Menad ..... Menader
Moult-Mill ..... J.H.Moulton and G.Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, repr.1949.
Orig ..... Origenes
  Princ ..... De Principiis
Papyri
  BGU ..... Aegiptische Urkunden aus dem kgl Museen zu Berlin; Griechische Urkunden, I-VII,1895ff.
  PEleph ..... Elephantine-Papyri,ed.by O.Rubensohn,1907
  PFay ..... Fayûm Towns and their Papyri,ed.by B.Grenfell, A.Hunt and D.Hogarth,1900
  PGiess ..... Griechische Papyri zu Giessen, ed.by O.Eger, E.Kornemann and P.M.Meyer, 1910ff.
  PLille ..... Papyrus Grecs Lille,ed.by P.Jouguet,P.Collart, and others, 1912.
  PLond ..... Greek Papyri in the British Museum, ed.by F.G.Kenyon,1893ff.
  POxy ..... The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, ed.by B.Grenfell and A.Hunt,1898ff.
  PPetr ..... The Flinders Petrie Papyri, ed. by J.P.Mahaffy and J.G.Smyly,1891ff.
  PSI ..... Publicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei Papiri greci e latini in Egitto: Papyri Greci e Latini I-IX.1912ff.
Parm ..... Parmenides

Philo	Philo of Alexandria
Cher	De Cherubim
Congr	De Congressu Eruditionis Gratia
Deus Imm	Quod Deus sit Immutabilis
Det Pot Ins	Quod Deterius Potiori insidiari soleat
Ebr	De Ebrietate
Fug	De Fuga et Inventione
Jos	De Josepho
Leg All	Legum Allegoriae
Migr Abr	De Migratione Abrahami
Mut Nom	De Mutatione Nominum
Op Mund	De Opificio Mundi
Plant	De Plantatione
Poster	De Posteritate Caini
Praem Poen	De Praemiis et Poenis
Quaest in Ex	Quaestiones in Exodum
Rer Div Her	Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres sit
Sacr AC	De Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini
Som	De Somniis
Spec Leg	De Specialibus Legibus
Virt	De Virtutibus
Vit Mos	De Vita Mosis
Ph	Philo Mechanicus
Bel	Belopoeica: Excerpte aus Philons Mechanik, ed.by H.Diels and E.Schramm, 1919.
Pind	Pindarus
Placit	Placita Philosophorum
Plat	Plato
Crat	Cratylus
Leg	Leges
Phaed	Phaedo
Resp	Respublica
Tim	Timaeus
Plut	Plutarchus
Fac Lun	De Facie in Orbe Lunae
Num	Numa
Pomp	Pompeius
Poll	Julius Pollux
Onom	Onomasticum
Polyb	Polybius
Rev Bibl	Revue Biblique
R.S.V.	The Holy Bible, Revised Standard Version, 1952.
SAB	Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Zu Berlin, [1882ff.] 1922ff.
SAH	Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1910ff.
Sext Emp	Sextus Empiricus
Math	Adversus Mathematicos
Sim	Simonides

Soph	..... Sophocles
Frag	..... Fragmenta
Oed Col	..... Oedipus Coloneus
Oed Tyr	..... Oedipus Tyrannus
Phil	..... Philoctetes
Trach	..... Trachiniae
Str-B	..... H.L.Strack and P.Billerbeck,Kommentar zum NT aus Talmud und Midrasch, I-IV,1922ff.
Theophr	..... Theophrastus
CP	..... De Causis Plantarum
ThBl	..... Theologische Blaetter, 1922ff.
ThSt	..... Theologische Studien, 1883ff.
Thuc	..... Thucydides
Walter Bauer	.... Griechisch-Deutsches Woerterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der uebrigen urchristlichen Literatur, 4 ed.,1952.
Xenoph	..... Xenophon
Cyrop	..... Cyropaedia
Hist Graec	.... Historia Graeca
Oec	..... Oeconomicus
ZNW	..... Zeitschrift fuer neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, 1900ff.
ZSTh	..... Zeitschrift fuer systematische Theologie, 1923ff.

Abbreviations of the books of Holy Scirpture are those adopted in R.S.V.